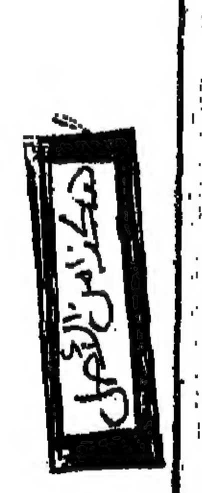


The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

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Berlin Agreement opens up a new era in Europe



Not even the best-intentioned journalists could have sounded a more panegyrical note. The British ambassador talked in terms of a new era and noted that there had been something special about certain aspects of the negotiations.

Britain's Foreign Secretary termed the signing an historic event, a view shared by the American ambassador, who also foresaw the prospect of further steps towards the establishment of normal relations.

The Soviet ambassador spoke of a milestone in European history. He too foresaw favourable prospects for the future. His French opposite number talked in unusual terms of the positive spirit of cooperation which had been particularly encouraging.

These are telling words from diplomats when one bears in mind that their every utterance is first vetted and approved by their governments. What they have to say is more than mere verbiage.

The Berlin Agreement does indeed mark the beginning of a comprehensive and probably irreversible change on the European, nay world scene.

It may be a matter of a complex tangle of agreements of the kind that used to be viewed in a poor light and would until quite recently have been called a crisis-prone compromise.

Undoubtedly it is a quite abnormal state of affairs that has been "normalised" but this very fact is what is new and unparalleled about this historic event.

The Berlin Agreement has inaugurated a political mechanism of its own that will, or at least well might, render the illogicalities of current compromises unimportant and obsolete.

Up till now, it will be remembered, the political situation in the whole of Eastern and Western Europe has been characterised by the dangerously explosive state of affairs in the heart of the Continent.

On the strength of this situation the two sides armed to the teeth after the War. Each sought to force the other at least on to the defensive yet at the same time each was afraid of the other.

This fundamental position exercised a decisive influence on security policy in both East and West, at the same time bringing influence to bear on the whole gamut of foreign, economic and financial policy.

It would, of course, be too easy now to believe that these facts of life in both East and West are going to change overnight, as it were.

Yet there are many indications that a process has now been set in motion that will, so to speak, uncouple the existing crisis-prone dovetailing and denture-gritting commitments of the European powers in and around Berlin and Germany.

Oddly enough this process has come in for criticism in both East and West. The Opposition in this country feels there to be a genuine danger that the United States will feel emboldened to pull out of Europe after the Berlin Agreement and be still further encouraged to do so following ratification of Bonn's treaties with Moscow and Warsaw.

The latest developments will be grist to the mill of the increasing American tendency to withdraw from international commitments, the Opposition reckons.



French ambassador in Bonn, Jean Sauvagnargues, American Minister David Klein and Sir Roger Jackling, British ambassador in Bonn, delivered the official German language version of the Berlin Agreement to West Berlin mayor, Klaus Schütz on 3 September. Mayor Schütz expressed his thanks to the ambassadors for their tireless efforts in negotiating the agreement. (Photo: AP)

In the final analysis, the argument runs, the current policy trend is heading in the direction of a reduction in German and European security.

The Soviet Union is supposed to have signed the Berlin Agreement in anticipation of this development and to consider the terms to represent a long-term procedural improvement in its position.

There is an element of truth in this line of argument. As a result of the Berlin Agreement and further developments in Europe Washington may well loosen its genuine ties with Europe.

In consequence Bonn will have to be all the more energetic in its endeavours to extend and perfect the process of Western European integration.

This albeit should prove considerably easier once the Berlin and German questions have been reasonably settled.

Western scepticism as to likely developments is accompanied by a similar feeling of mistrust in East Berlin. In Eastern Europe too the omnipotence of the foremost power is bound to slacken, though Moscow will not be slackening the reins of its own free will.

The Kremlin's satellites will now be less convinced by the argument that the alleged imperialist enemy in Bonn (and West Berlin) calls for the strictest socialist solidarity.

The uncoupling of the German Question will trigger off a political mechanism in Eastern Europe too and the West can but hope that developments in the East do not one day reach explosive proportions.

Serious internal disruption in the socialist world could well lead to grave setbacks in the process of detente, as past experience has shown. The future is assuredly fraught with danger.

Over the next six months Germans in the Federal Republic will be required to demonstrate for the last time (as things stand) their national common sense and political sense of proportion.

There may well be something of a hangover, though. Young people may not worry much about accepting for good and all what has so far only emotionally been felt inevitable. But they have an easy time of it.

Even twenty-five-year-olds have known the Berlin Wall all their lives. They know from personal experience nothing other than the existence of two German states, Silesia as part of Poland, Königsberg as part of the Soviet Union, Budweis as somewhere in Czech Bohemia.

Stettin, Stolp and Stralsund are just names on the map for thirty-year-olds. Berlin is to remain divided, not to mention Germany, which includes neither

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The first six pages of this issue of THE GERMAN TRIBUNE have been devoted to the Berlin Agreement, signed by ambassadors of the Four Powers on 3 September 1971

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Thalidomide children learn to live with their handicap

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Cologne agency provides cash and know-how for industry in Third World

SPORT — page 15
Power-assisted gliders gain ascendancy in the air

The Four-Power agreement is a milestone in European affairs

Those who hasten to dub the conclusion of a political development amid great pomp and circumstance as a major historical event or are forced to do so are acting perhaps with excessive haste. For it often happens that what once seemed a great turning point in history proves in the long run to be a mere episode.

The fact that the signing of the umbrella agreement on Berlin by the ambassadors of the Four Powers was more than a visible seal on an unusual but perhaps worthless piece of diplomatic toil cannot and will not be denied by those who reject the agreement in toto and consider the agreements reached in the tough negotiations "considerable concessions" to the Soviet Union.

Undeniably there has been since the signing and sealing of the treaty a new situation in and around Berlin, however difficult the second stage of the negotiations between the two German States may be.

And the round of negotiations between representatives of the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic will be complicated, time-consuming and – judging from previous experiences with GDR negotiators – not without a number of surprising pieces of subterfuge, chicanery and bluff.

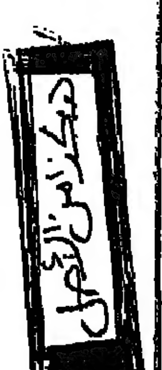
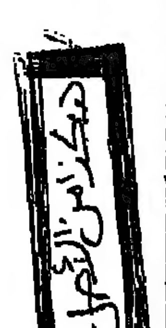
But the treaty signed by the victorious powers under the blaze of the floodlamps and in front of the whirring cameras permits no turning back. This is something that East Berlin and the Opposition in Bonn will just have to get used to.

For the first time since 1949 there is a binding, written agreement on Berlin, which not only guarantees the people in the divided city more security but also expressly and unambiguously confirms the political, legal and economic links between West Berlin and the Federal Republic which the Soviet Union has continually contested.

To this extent at least the hands that were shaken among the four ambassadors are a guarantee of a safe future for the city that has been so sorely tried since the War.

In connection with this there can be no denying that Willy Brandt, who admits

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Official statement of the government of the Federal Republic of Germany on the Berlin Agreement approved on 3 September 1971

1. From an official communication from the Ambassadors of France, Great Britain and the United States the Federal Government has taken note of today's signing in Berlin of the Quadripartite Agreement by the Ambassadors of France, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States. After having heard a report by the Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs, it has, in the light of the permanent and close consultations with the Three Powers, concluded the examination of the text of the Agreement and its accompanying documents.

2. The Federal Government notes that by the agreement reached today by the Four Powers responsible for Berlin have established a solid basis for a satisfactory Berlin settlement. The settlement itself will materialize after supplementary arrangements between the Federal Government and/or the Senate of Berlin and the Government of the GDR, as envisaged in the Quadripartite Agreement, have been concluded and bound up to a whole with the Quadripartite Agreement by means of the Quadripartite Final Protocol which has also been initialled today.

The Federal Government welcomes the fact that it has been possible to arrive at practical arrangements without altering the status of Berlin and without prejudicing the legal position of the Three Powers responsible for West Berlin.

3. The Federal Government sees in these practical arrangements substantial improvements for West Berlin and its inhabitants:

- Civilian traffic between Federal territory and West Berlin will be unimpeded, and its clearance at the crossing points simplified and facilitated.
- The freedom of movement of the inhabitants of West Berlin will be widened. They will again be able to visit the Eastern part of the city as well as the GDR.
- West Berlin can be represented by the Federal Republic of Germany vis-à-vis the Soviet Union in the same manner as it has been represented by the Federal Republic for many years now in the larger part of the world. The inhabitants of West Berlin will be able to enjoy the consular protection of the Federal Republic of Germany which they have so far been missing. Participation of the city and its inhabitants in worldwide international exchanges will no longer be prejudiced.

4. The close ties which exist between West Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany in all spheres of life, and which correspond to the sense of solidarity, have been underlined and reaffirmed as to their existence and their possibilities of development. The Federal Government regards this as a decisive gain for the city's viability.

5. The Quadripartite Agreement has not changed the basic legal relationship between the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin. This basic relationship continues to be governed not only by German constitutional law, but also by Allied reserved rights. German constitutional law, i.e., the relevant provisions of the Basic Law and the Berlin Constitution, remain unaltered; the Allied reserved rights continue, however, to be superimposed on them. All Federal Governments have always considered these preceding Allied rights to be in the interest of Berlin's security and respected them accordingly. From the responsibility incumbent on them for Berlin and its security, the Allies have, by virtue of that precedence, suspended German constitutional law in such a way that West Berlin is neither fully included in the constitutional organization of the Federation nor governed by the Federation.

6. The safeguarding of the vital ties between West Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany presupposes a clarification of how the Three Powers will exercise the rights reserved for them with regard to Berlin. The Allies have given this clarification in the Quadripartite Agreement. The Federal Government considers the limitations resulting therefrom for the activity of the Federation and its organs in Berlin to be just[...] because the vital ties can be main[tained] and developed. Within this compass:

- Federal organs will be able to [...] their appearance in West Berlin;
- the established procedures con[cerning] the applicability to West Berlin [of the] legislation of the Federal Rep[ublic as] well as the application of la[w by] administrative and court auth[orities] concerned with West Berlin's [...] remain unchanged;
- nothing will be changed in the [pre]sence of authorities and institu[tions of] the Federation in West Berlin.

7. The Federal Government is [...] the Berlin settlement, the first [...] which is now in existence, cannot [...] the Berlin question as a whole, [...] this will, in fact, only be possible [within] the framework of a settlement of [the] German question. However, it expe[cts] the Berlin settlement, which is still [to be] completed, a development will not [only] strengthen the viability of the city but [...] further détente in the centre of Eu[rope]. Both elements are equally indispe[nsable] to a development in Germany that [...] fulfil the mandate of the Basic La[w].

....and the political parties in opposition comment

Agreement does not live up to expectations, CDU/CSU comment.

1. Study of the text indicates that some of the confidential proposals submitted by the Christian Democratic and Christian Social Union parliamentary parties on 1 September 1970 have been borne in mind.

This is particularly the case in respect of practical measures designed to facilitate travel to and from Berlin, of the partial success in ending discrimination against West Berliners and of external representation of West Berlin by the Federal Republic of Germany.

2. A number of these and other issues of fundamental importance in assessing the Agreement have not been brought to a conclusion by the ambassadors. Precise details have been left for intra-German agreement.

The form and content of the negotiation mandate are in accordance with our demand of 1 November 1970 which stated that "German authorities cannot and must not usurp Allied rights and responsibilities in respect of Berlin.

"They may only act at the behest of the Four Powers and under the terms of a specific mandate with regard to subject matter and targets. The aims must be to implement Allied agreements in practical terms with the Four Powers retaining full responsibility."

A final judgement will not be possible until after the conclusion of these negotiations.

3. Following talks in the three Western capitals we declared on 7 September 1970 that "A jointly reached confidential stand on Berlin by the three Western Powers, the Federal government, the CDU/CSU and the Senate of Berlin would be of great value.

"It can be achieved, but must take into account the spirit of the treaty with the Soviet Union as outlined by the Federal government and be based on 'the existing real situation' (Article 1) and not affect 'treaties or agreements' with third parties (Article 4)."

The Chancellor subsequently expressed his agreement with the terms of this declaration. The text now published makes it clear that the framework settlement has not lived up to these expectations.

The text of the Agreement proves that concessions have been made to the Soviet Union and the GDR, partly as a result of pressure brought to bear by the Federal g overnment.

These concessions include the establishment of a Soviet consulate-general in West Berlin, the reduction in Federal presence in West Berlin and the nature of the agreements with the Soviet Union on the relationship between free Germany and free Berlin.

The Agreement cannot, then, be regarded as a counter-concession in return for the concessions made by this country in the Moscow Treaty of 12 August 1970. The imbalance of concession and counter-concession in the Moscow Treaty has not been offset by the present first stage of the Berlin Agreement.

The Agreement does not, for that matter, amount to unconditional acknowledgement of the realities of the situation in free Berlin by the Soviet Union as was stated to be essential on the day the Moscow Treaty was signed.

These concessions have occasioned particular misgivings on our part. We feel that the status of Berlin is no clearer whereas the presence of the Fed[eral] government has been cut back and that [of] the Soviet Union increased.

As far as we are concerned this is just as unsatisfactory as the continu[ation] of the order given to GDR borderguards to open fire on people trying to escape [to] the West.

4. In the forthcoming intra-Ger[man] agreements, for which our offer of [confi]dential cooperation with the Fe[deral] government still stands, the gaps [must] be plugged so that the ambassa[dors'] agreement is neither undermined [nor] reduced in its practical effect for [the] people concerned.

In accordance with the second sentence of the preamble of the Agreement as it now stands the threat and use of force in and around Berlin must definitely b[e] precluded.

The German agreements will play [an] important part in interpreting and app[ly]ing the Four-Power Agreement in p[rac]tice.

5. We expect the Federal government [to] do everything in its power to reach [the] heart of *Ostpolitik*, the position [of] Germans in Germany, in such a way th[at] the situation is improved and no ba[...] are made into the right of self-determina[]tion.

Only when an intra-German agreement has been concluded will a final judgement on the outcome of *Ostpolitik* be possi[ble]. To make exceptions on this point w[ould] be to come to a stop where the m[...] human, political and historic task beg[ins].

More than 50 government agencies operate in Berlin

The Four Power Agreement will not affect the work of the Federal Republic's fifty or so government bodies and authorities based in Berlin and employing some 22,500 people.

The Federal President's Office is to be found at Schloss Bellevue while the agencies of the various Bonn ministries are all housed in Berlin's Bundeshaus.

The Defence Ministry is not represented in Berlin as Bonn's legislation in this field does not cover the city because of an Allied ruling.

The Berlin administration of the Bonn Bundestag is in the old Reichstag building. Among other Federal agencies in West Berlin are the government Press and Information Bureau and the Federal Republic plenipotentiary.

Apart from the agencies of the individual ministries the most important West German authorities in Berlin are the Federal Insurance Bureau for White-Collar Workers, the Monopolies Commission, the Federal Administrative Court, the Savings and Insurance Supervisory Board, the Credit System Supervisory Board, the Federal Insurance Bureau, the Federal Printing Office, the Federal Health Office and the Federal Court of Justice responsible for Berlin.

On 29 November 1949 the government in Bonn decided to set up in Berlin agencies of all those ministries that must be represented in the city for reasons of efficiency or organisation.

(Neue Hannoversche Presse, 26 August 1971)

The German Tribune

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Agreement is no triumph for one country, Rush claims

Slightly supported by one of his aides US ambassador Kenneth Rush is the first to enter the stuccoed conference room of the former Control Commission building. Behind him comes his Soviet opposite number Pyotr Abrassimov and British and French ambassadors Sir Roger Jackling and Jean Sauvagnargues.

This is the order in which the four diplomats take their seats behind an elongated mahogany table and gaze at the assembled company of reporters and a battery of cameras.

They smile for the cameras. Rush looks pale. He does not appear to be too well but gazes calmly in the direction of the newsreel and TV cameras that are transmitting to more than fifty countries in East and West. The time is two minutes to one precisely.

The *four men spend* several minutes preparing *to sign the Agreement*. Sauvagnargues slides his spectacles to the far corner of the green blotter in front of him. Abrassimov also produces a pair of spectacles from the breast pocket of his dark blue suit.

With a look of concern he leans over to the man on his left and asks him something or other. No one can make out what it is that the Soviet ambassador is saying to his American counterpart but everyone imagines he will be asking Rush whether he will be able to go through with what is undoubtedly a tiring ceremony without too much difficulty.

Rush, it had been disclosed, had suffered a collapse the day before and his doctors had ordered him to stay in bed. The strain of the final stages of negotiations had taken its toll.

Four aides distribute the files containing the documents. Sauvagnargues of France and Jackling of Britain are handed pale red files. Abrassimov of Russia a claret and Rush of America a matt blue file. The coats of arms of the respective countries are embossed in gold on each file.

When Abrassimov uncaps his pen to sign Part I of the Agreement the crowd grows noisier. The cameras whir even louder than beforehand, reporters push their way through to the barrier, photographers clamber on to pedestals and flashlight brightens the dull light inside the room as the drizzle descends outside.

After appending his signature Abrassimow calmly folds his hands, occasionally making nervous play his right index finger.

Sauvagnargues is the first to comment. He stresses that the Agreement will not come into force until the Four Powers sign the final protocol — following scrutiny of the agreements meanwhile reached by the two German states.

On several occasions Sauvagnargues has to *raise his voice; the noise in the room is* increasing from one minute to the next. Radio and TV commentators are saying their pieces live and having difficulty in making themselves understood too.

The loudspeakers in the hall distort the French ambassador's voice. It sounds hollow yet heavy. Abrassimov and Jackling also have to speak up to be heard.

Abrassimov has immediately grasped the situation. "Esteemed colleagues, ladies and gentlemen!" he begins in stentorian tones. "We have today on behalf of our respective governments signed an agreement that is doubtless destined to be a major milestone in the political life of Europe and in international affairs as a whole."

He is later to add that "It would not be right to approach the Agreement from the viewpoint of who stands to benefit most. Everyone benefits from it because it benefits peace, detente and cooperation." After reading his declaration Abrassimov carefully folds his manuscript and slips it in his left breast pocket.

Only Rush is left. He too sounds a little hoarse as he says: "We hope that the successful conclusion of this stage of the negotiations will be followed with all speed by the success of the German talks and the signature of the final Four-Power protocol.

"One point about this Agreement is clear. It represents no trimph for one country or another or for one of the negotiators. It is an agreement designed to aid people by means of practical improvements and not to serve national interests."

The ambassadors stand, shake each other's hands and gather one last time for a group photograph. Abrassimov dips one last time into his storehouse of quotations. "Ende gut, alles gut!" he cries with a beam.

The diplomats then escort one another out of the room. The historic moment for which the world has waited a year and a half is over.

Willi Kinnigkeit

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 4 September 1971)

(Photos: Sven Simon, J. H. Darchinger)



Chancellor Willy Brandt (right) with Foreign Minister Walter Scheel (left) and State Secretary Egon Bahr in the Cabinet meeting when the Berlin Agreement was approved by the Federal Republic Cabinet

New era

Continued from page 1

Pomerania nor East Prussia, neither Eichendorff's home nor that of Hauptmann.

Older people do not find it so easy to stomach this idea. For them it is a decision of major historical significance.

There can, mind you, be no doubt that most people in the Federal Republic have realised that at some time between 1939 and, say, 1959 a clean and irrevocable break was made with the past.

Yet there is a difference between realising the fact and recognising it lock, stock and barrel in black and white. A high degree of common sense and emotional self-control is needed to overcome the barrier.

The Opposition is bound to be tempted to stimulate emotions of this kind and fan the flames of general unrest. This would cause a great deal of harm, trigger off large-scale crises and be of absolutely no benefit to the Christian Democrats.

The government for its part would do well to avoid being sanguine and arguing that the present state of affairs is the reality and that the Opposition is the very embodiment of the backwoods mentality.

After all there have been considered comments on both sides of the political fence that give reason to hope that the forthcoming final debate will not end up with this country yet again instilling fear and trembling into the hearts of Mankind.

Germany must now show the world that the renunciation of national viewpoints formerly held in the interest of greater freedom for both us and our neighbours reaps a greater harvest of respect and honour than self-willed behaviour and empty gestures.

Hans Heigert

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 4 September 1971)

Milestone

Continued from page 1

cooperation and a relaxation of tension a top priority.

that he left Berlin because he thought he could do more in Bonn for the old capital, and the government as a whole made this breakthrough possible by means of a highly risky new East Bloc policy.

Without the initiatives set by the SPD/FDP government in Ostpolitik and the risks they ran, particularly the work they carried out on the Moscow and Warsaw treaties, a Berlin settlement with this content and at this point in time would have been unthinkable.

But from the speeches made by the four ambassadors after the signing ceremony at the Allied Control Commission building in Berlin, particularly the speeches of the American and Russian ambassadors it has become obvious that the major powers wanted and needed this treaty, which — as Piotr Abrasimov put it — "is a rational balance-sheet of mutual interests".

The government's Ostpolitik, which was to a certain extent a forerunner of the latest agreement fits perfectly into the overall policies of the superpowers, which have for some time been making. Berlin was always the great bone of contention, the stumbling block preventing détente, and this has now been swept aside with a masterpiece of conference diplomacy.

For many years Berlin was the symbol of the division of Germany and Europe and the schisms that rent the former allies' but after the concluison of the tough Berlin debates the city will perhaps become a symbol of a new form of balanced interests in Europe.

The city and its people will now have to gird themselves for this symbolic function and will be able to do so amid feelings of greater relief and relaxation.

When the official text is published the two extremes of opinion — euphoria and total rejection will no longer be able to hld sway, Instead the spotlight will switch to the talks between representatives ot the two Germanies based on the foundations of the Berlin agreement.

For those who understand politics to be a matter of give and take the Berlin agreement will appear as a sober and solid basis for a relaxation of tension in Europe and the day of the signing will be seen in its true perspective — as an important milesone along the road to greater security.

Hartmut Tetsch

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 4 September 1971)

■ BERLIN AGREEMENT

United Allied front warded off attacks on Berlin's freedom

The Berlin Agreement reached by the ambassadors of the Four Powers after eighteen months of talks once again draws attention to the legal foundations on which the existence of the city, particularly the Western half, is based.

They were already laid during the War. In October 1943 the Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States agreed in Moscow to set up a committee to provide detailed proposals for the partition of the German Reich and its future administration.

This committee, the European Advisory Commission, met in Lancaster House, London. The American ambassador in London, John G. Winant, his Russian colleague Fedor T. Gusev and the British Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs Sir William Strang were its members.

On 12 September 1944 the three diplomats signed an agreement dividing

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Germany into three zones as soon as it was defeated. This agreement, the London Protocol, also divided the twenty administrative districts of Greater Berlin into three sectors.

The decisive factor for the future destiny of the city was the ruling that Greater Berlin would not belong to any of the three zones but would be subject to a joint Allied Governing authority. This authority was to build up a joint administrative system for Greater Berlin.

An agreement concluded two days later on 14 September fixed the details of Allied control The commander-in-chief of each of the three Allies (France was not included as the fourth occupying power until after the Yalta Conference at the beginning of 1945) was to have supreme powers in the zone occupied by his troops and would rule according to the instructions of his government.

Only for questions affecting Germany as a whole were the three commanders-in-chief to meet on a joint body, the Control Commission, and there make their (unanimous) decisions.

An integrated Allied government was planned for Greater Berlin. The London Agreement stated that the administration would be in the hands of city commandants appointed by the commanders-in-chief.

Their task was to govern the whole of Berlin on a rota system so that the unity of the city could be preserved. They were to be controlled only by the Control Council, that is by the commanders-in-chief.

This agreement was confirmed at the Yalta Conference but it could be seen soon afterwards that the unanimity of the war-time Allies necessary for its operation was declining.

When there were delays in the American and British occupation of Berlin after the final surrender President Truman wrote to Stalin raising a question that was thought superfluous in September 1944 but would soon become an essential Berlin issue —access.

Agreement on this question was now reached on Control Council level. The most important section was the establishment of three air corridors on 30 November 1945.

The air corridors became a life-saver for the twelve districts of Berlin occupied by the three Western powers when the Soviet Union withdrew from the Control Commission on 20 March 1948.

This breach of the Four Power Agreement led to the blockade of the Western sectors and the Berlin Airlift.

After this breach of agreements valid under international law the Western powers had the opportunity of viewing the violated agreements as null and void and taking appropriate action.

But the British, French and American governments *did not think that this was the time for such action and insisted that* the Russians kept their side of the bargain.

The outcome of this policy and the Allied airlift was the end of the blockade on 12 May 1949 and the Four Power Agreement in New York that became generally known as the Jessup-Malik Agreement.

Not only the ending of the blockade was agreed. The settlement also contained the first written mention of the rights the Soviet Union would grant the Western powers in using the access routes from West Germany to West Berlin.

The Four Power Foreign Minister Conference meeting in Paris shortly afterwards from 23 May to 20 June confirmed the agreement reached in New York.

The obligations entered into by the Four Powers to restore the political and economic unity of Germany and Berlin remained unfulfilled – negotiations were broken off in September 1949 – as the Soviet Union continued to integrate the part of Germany she occupied into her own European empire.

But despite this the London and New York agreements still provide the foundation for the continued existence of West Berlin right up to the present day.

It was Nikita Khrushchev's intention to destroy this foundation when he stated in his famous speech of 10 November 1958 that the Soviet Union would transfer to the East Berlin government those functions previously incumbent on Russian bodies in the German Democratic Republic.

In the notes sent to the United States, Great Britain, France, the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic on 27 November 1958 Russia stated her position.

The notes stated, "... In connection with this the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics informs the government of the United States of America that the Soviet Union considers the 'Protocol of the Agreement between the governments of the USSR, the United States of America and the United Kingdom on the occupation zones of Germany and the administration of Greater Berlin' of 12 September 1944 to be abrogated together with complementary agreements including the agreement on the control system in Germany between the governments of the USSR, the USA, Great Britain and France of 1 May 1945, that is agreements whose effectiveness was based on the first years after the capitulation of Germany."

Despite the six-month ultimatum linked with Khrushchev's proposals, the "independent political unit of West Berlin" that was intended to replace Berlin's Four-Power status was never a reality.

The fact that there have been far-reaching changes in the situation of the former German capital despite the unchanging status of the city in international law is due mainly to the non-fulfilment of agreements concluded by the former war-time Allies.

This development has led to the fact that the two Berlins either side of the Wall have been largely integrated into the two newly formed German States.

In the Eastern part of the city, "capital of the GDR", this process complete apart from a few excep... that are important is so far as they witness to the continued Four... responsibility for the city. West Be... integration into the Federal Repu... incomplete in comparison.

The unified post-war developme... the two parts of the city had only a... existence. It began with the ... administration on 11 July 1945. The city council was appointed on 17 ... and a provisional constitution granted by the four Allies on 19 ... 1946.

The first free elections in Greater Berlin on 20 October 1946 led to a defeat ... the Communists who, because of the city's Four Power status, had ... managed to force the Social Democrat Party into a shotgun wedding to form ... Socialist Unity Party. The Communists gained 19.8 per cent of votes in ... while the Social Democrat figure ... 48.7 per cent.

But the time still left for free political competition was short. On 26 June ... – the blockade had already begun – ... city council left its town hall situated ... the Russian Sector. The city parliament had likewise to give in to superior force on 6 September.

The ban on the elections planned for ... December 1948 was the next stage ... Soviet Sector's separation from the remaining part of the city.

Finally, on 30 November 1948, there took place an "extraordinary ... Deputy Assembly". This body consist... of the 26 SED deputies of the legal... elected city parliament and 210 representatives of the Berlin Democratic Bloc seconded by the SED formed without any democratic right the "Provisional Democratic City Council of Greater Berlin". East Berlin thus had its own administration and the unity of the city was at an end.

During the airlift West Berliners expressed their wish not to bow down to Russian claims. This automatically led to dependency on the three Western zones which had merged into an economic union and the introduction of the new currency, the Deutschmark, which had been in use in the West since 18 June 1948.

Until March 1949 the Deutschmark and the new currency of the Soviet Zone circulated side by side. The sole validity of the Western Mark after that date was an important step towards the economic integration of West Berlin into the newly formed Federal Republic whose support was indispensable for the free part of the city weakened by the blockade.

The Bundestag legislation beginning with the establishment of the Federal Republic raised the question of how valid this was for West Berlin.

The problem was at first avoided as the West Berlin House of Deputies took over the laws passed in the Federal Republic for its own city.

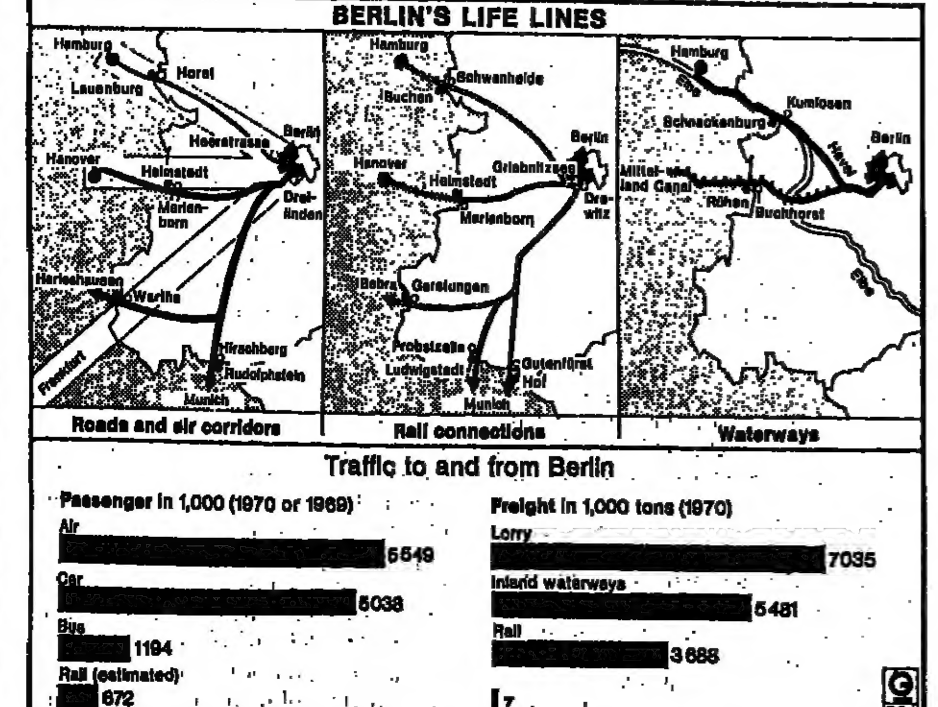
Direct rule was not possible as the Western Allies were unwilling to accept this in case the continuing Four-Power responsibility for the city was endangered.

As this country viewed this process as inadequate, a way out was chosen in the form of "umbrella legislation". When the Federal Republic wants a law to be valid in West Berlin it inserts a clause to that effect and the law comes into force there if the city authorities agree.

The West Berlin authorities only have to say yes or no to the law passed in the way by the West German government. In this way the Allied ruling that Berlin cannot be ruled from Bonn is not violated and at the same time legal unity is largely preserved.

The Allied Control Council ... ed by the three Western powers ... occupation after the Soviet withdrawal ... 1948 can however as the sovereign ...

Continued on page 5



If the Berlin Agreement is accepted West Berlin will no longer be what the late Nikita Khrushchev called it, the corns of the West on which Moscow and East Berlin can tread at will. All the old petty annoyances such as red lights at transit points, long queues, pettyfogging checks on lorry loards and excessively detailed examination of individuals who may be turned back, not to mention fees for transit, can be put into moth balls. Statistics show what this will mean for Berlin traffic. More than half of the people travelling to and from Berlin use cars, buses or trains. In the past they have always had the opportunity of transferring to air if necessary. The same cannot be said to apply to freight. It uses almost exclusively road, rail and waterways through German Democratic Republic territory



BERLIN AGREEMENT

Western powers have not surrendered any of their rights and obligations

Bonn believes that the Four-Power Berlin Agreement is a success. Apart from the practical benefits it offers, it does not encroach upon a future settlement of the German Question and leaves all opportunities open for the role of Berlin in the Germany of the future.

That is an aspect that deserves thorough examination when weighing up the pros and cons of the Agreement. The unsolved German Question and the legal unity of Germany was symbolised in the status of the former German capital. Is this still true today?

The Russians at first hoped that the Four Power negotiations would result in a new legal status for Berlin. After this wish was immediately rejected by the West the Russians tried to raise doubts about the old legal status of Four-Power responsibility for Germany by insisting upon mention of the "existing situation" in treaty documents.

The Allies granted them this concession. The preamble, which is far more important in the Berlin agreement than is usual in international treaties, now includes the pharase: "... taking into account the existing situation in the area in question ...".

But the concession is not all that far-reaching. This "taking into account" is an evaluation of the present political situation – it does not call into question the present legal status. The Russians know that better than anyone – their politicians are after all sticklers for linguistic accuracy. The old legal foundations remain unshaken.

These foundations often appear in extremely subtle form in the carefully phrased preamble. The sober statement that representatives of the Four Powers met in the "American sector of Berlin" and negotiated "on the basis of their rights as the Four Powers and their responsibilities and the corresponding agreements during the war and in the post-war period and the decisions of the Four Powers which are not affected here" speaks volumes about the position of Berlin and Germany though this is purposely left so unclear.

Anyone in Bonn requesting from the Allies a closer definition of the rights and responsibilities only hinted at in the agreement will have his attention drawn to the notes sent by the Western powers to the government on the signing of the treaty with the Soviet Union on 11 August 1970.

At the time the Russian Foreign Minister had not wanted to take any notice of these notes nor the previous West German note to the Western powers repeated verbatim in them.

The Soviet Union therefore always used to speak of the "treaty and the negotiations" while the West German side wanted to take as its basis everything involved with the treaty negotiations and that includes this exchange of notes.

By signing the preamble of the Four-Power agreement on Berlin the Soviet government has now made a limited though satisfactory allowance for the Allied standpoint.

Referring at the time to the Moscow Treaty, the Western governments stressed that the rights and obligations of the Four Powers in respect of Berlin and Germany as a whole were not and could not by affected by it.

Although mention is now only made of Four-Power obligations and nothing is mentioned by name, responsibility for Germany as a whole is confirmed and the symbolic character of Berlin for the continual legal existence of German unity is emphasised – and the Russians know it.

Perhaps it would be of benefit if the Western governments drew attention to this, perhaps by referring to the Seventh Article of the Germany Treaty. But this is not absolutely necessary.

But the mention of the rights and obligations of the Four Powers also shows the full extent of the unreconcilable difference of opinion between the three Western powers and the Soviet Union on the whole German Question.

The three Western powers claim that the West's rights in Germany and the responsibility of the Four Powers in the whole of the conquered nation were established firmly and inviolably in the London Protocol of 14 November 1944 dividing Germany into occupation zones with a special arrangement for Berlin and in the Four-Power statement of 5 June 1945 on the take-over of executive power in Germany.

The West believes that these rights need no confirmation as they cannot be affected by any agreements to the contrary.

The Russians on the other hand have been trying literally for decades to base responsibility for German affairs on the final protocol of the Potsdam Conference of 2 August 1945.

Western legal opinion does not even mention this document in connection with Four-Power responsibility and Bonn rightly refers to it as the so-called Potsdam Agreement in its White Paper dealing with the Berlin settlement.

The Soviet Union has always insisted and will continue to insist that the final protocol of the Potsdam Conference stipulates the obligation of the Four Powers to lead Germany, the former enemy with whom a treaty must be concluded, on the path of Socialist virtue.

In 1958 Nikita Khrushchev justified his Berlin ultimatum by saying that the Western powers had violated the conditions of the final Potsdam protocol and had thus forfeited their rights in Berlin.

His interpretation did not achieve much. But the difference of opinions remains unchanged. Every reference to the responsibilities assumed by the Four Powers, especially in a Four-Power treaty, draws attention to the provisional nature of the German situation and the lack of any peace treaty with the former enemy who began the Second World War as an undivided whole and ended it with losses.

Steadfast stand

The three Western powers have not budged from their standpoint and have defended their position so skilfully that the Soviet Union had to take notice of it even though it disputes the situation passionately.

When these facts are considered along with the welcome practical features of the settlement thrashed out during the Four-Power talks, the importance of the Berlin Agreement is not at all belittled if viewed as complementary to the West German-Soviet Treaty.

It has preserved the old, though extremely durable elements that are indispensable to the solution of the still unsolved German Question.

Fire-brigades in France adhere to the rule: "Il faut sauver les meubles" – the furniture must be saved. The German furniture, as ramshackle as it may be in the "existing situation", has been saved.

This obvious fact may make it easy for the Opposition party in Bonn to approve of the agreement just concluded. Perhaps the Opposition has learnt how beneficial carefully phrased preambles can be – in a law ratifying the Moscow Treaty for instance.

Ernst-Otto Maetzke

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 September 1971)

Continued from page 4

authority object to any West German law adopted in the city.

The Allies have made repeated use of their right and prevented for example the *jurisdiction of the Federal Constitutional* ~~Court from being extended to West~~ Berlin.

When the Federal Constitutional Court declared itself responsible for a case occurring in Berlin the Allies soon reacted. "It is the Allies' wish and intention that Berlin is not to be regarded as a state of the Federal Republic and is not to be ruled from there," they replied.

Protests of this type are important because of what they mean in principle. The fact that West Berlin is largely on a par with the Federal Republic is due to the Allies' "As if" treatment.

This extends to the international representation of West Berlin. Though the Allies in their statement of 5 May 1955 reserve this for themselves, in actual fact they allow the Federal Republic to carry out this obligation just as they allow the presence of a number of West German agencies.

What they do not however permit is the return of Berlin members to the Bundestag. Like East Berlin in the GDR People's Chamber, West Berlin is not represented by directly elected deputies but by delegates with no voting rights chosen by the House of Deputies.

This clear proof of the city's incomplete integration in the Federal Republic has long been a thorn in the flesh of those people who want to see West Berlin as the eleventh Federal state and describe it in its present situation as a Federal state with special status.

But that does not alter the city's legal status which ist more aptly described as an occupied area with special status than a Federal state as international law has priority ofer German law.

This fact should have played a decisive part in the talks now concluded. There is a lot to support the apparent paradox that West Berlin can only be so strongly attached to the Federal Republic because it does not belong to it.

Karl Feldmeyer

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 24 August 1971)

Can Berlin survive stripped of its pan-German role?

If the agreements reached by the four ambassadors in Berlin are an episode that will doubtless go down in postwar German history the same could be said to apply to the American history books. What Berlin was, up to the Agreement reached by the ambassadors, marks so to speak the high-water mark of the American involvement in Europe.

The Berlin settlement marks the beginning of the ebb tide of American presence in Europe. We do not know yet how far this cutback in American involvement will go.

We must make the most intensive efforts to see that the American withdrawal does not go too far. And we must draft in as much Western European political and military strength as possible to fill any vacuum left by the Americans.

If this aspect of the significance of the Berlin settlement is frequently overlooked the main reason for it seems to be that the local importance of the Berlin Agreement has been given far more consideration than its pan-German and international aspects.

There is no doubting that certain aspects of life for West Berliners, supplies to them and their freedom to travel, for instance, have been ameliorated for an

DIE WELT

unforeseeable period of time. This would have been the outcome of just about any imaginable, feasible Berlin agreement.

But enthusiasm about local improvements, even though these had to be paid for by a retreat at international level, bears witness to a consideration of the Berlin settlement from a worm's-eye view.

The Russians never have had a particular grudge about the ordinary man in the West Berlin street. Their main concern was the role played by the divided city in pan-German affairs. And this, too, was the main concem of the West.

If was precisely for this pan-German function of the divided city, that is to say it's pan-European function, that the West was prepared to make all kinds of sacrifices for the city, even allowing the situation to come dangerously close to a casus belli.

If this pan-German function is taken away from Berlin what remains? Will it be more than an exposed piece of territory, a great financial burden, a constant opportunity for blackmailing the Federal Republic, which must produce ever new friction with the communist world as well as the conflict of liberty and tyranny?

If Berlin becomes internationally, that is to say in its pan-German role, less important how long will it be viable? How much emphasis will and can be placed on its interests if the West no longer senses the need and the duty to put all its might behind Berlin?

The worm's-eye view conceals the fact that every local improvement that goes hand in hand with a diminishing of Berlin's international role will have to be paid for in the end at far more than market price – locally as well.

If the Berlin agreements seem to have such characteristics why have they received the blessing of the Western powers? One answer to this is that Berlin was a vital interest to the Western world precisely because it was a vital interest to Germany.

It was the involvement of successive governments in Bonn with Berlin that

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BERLIN AGREEMENT

The Berlin Agreement paves the way for further East-West accords detente efforts

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

In Berlin the three Western powers and the Soviet Union did not only agree on the future of the divided city; something more happened. They removed the bolt from a door which was previously shut, preventing further East-West negotiations.

The creation of a link between a satisfactory settlement of the Berlin problem and ratification of the treaties with Poland and Russia was a decision taken by the Bonn government alone, which, like any government is able to Reserve for itself the right to set its own priorities on the foreign policy agenda.

But it was a truly significant aspect of Bonn policies that more than a dozen other Western countries recognised that the new Ostpolitik was one of the Federal Republic's priorities in foreign policy, including the superpower America, so that in the past eighteen months the Kremlin has been facing a chorus of voices, making it quite clear that without a satisfactory solution of the Berlin muddle there would be no other negotiations aimed at detente.

The West formally made a settlement on Berlin a priority for the calling of a European Security Conference; but the planned discussions for a balanced reduction of troop strength in Europe were also made dependent on a Berlin agreement.

This solidarity of the Western powers has undoubtedly, as the results of the negotiations among the four ambassadors in Berlin showed, paid off handsomely.

If the Berlin treaty is signed, sealed and delivered by the end of the year then there will be nothing standing in the way of a European Security Conference for which the Soviet Union has been striving for a long time. But preparations will, come what may, be complicated and time-consuming however favourable other considerations are.

Since the first mention of the Security Conference at the Bucharest meeting of the Warsaw Pact countries in July 1966 Moscow has repeated the call with as much stubbornness as vagueness.

A renunciation of force and intensifying of bilateral trade, as far as possible skating round the EEC, as well as cultural exchanges are named by the East as possible topics of conversation at such a conference.

When the West stated that it was not particularly interested in the suggestion the Kremlin came back with the reply that other topics such as for instance a limitation of armaments could also be discussed.

Originally the Russians wanted to stick strictly to what was implied by the term European Security Conference, excluding all non-European States.

This all-too obvious attempt to rob the Nato countries of their powerful leader, the United States and their other transatlantic partner, Canada, was doomed to failure from the outset.

If the Security Conference is not to degenerate into a vague and unbinding palaver but provide concrete results, diplomatic experts must get their heads together at one or more preparatory conferences to clear the way for the main talks.

Statesmen who have a good understanding of the way the Soviet mind ticks believe they have noticed recently signs that the Kremlin's interest in a Security Conference has begun to wane.

As the relationship with the East Bloc member Rumania has grown worse of late it is possible that the Kremlin fears that a conference of this scope would give contumacious Ceausescu too much room for manoeuvre in which to underline his independence, not to mention the other troublesome member of the fraternity, Yugoslavia. If one of the East Bloc satellites were to prove refractory at a major international conference it would be highly embarrassing for the Russians.

Thus the plans for a European Security Conference remain a vague hope for the future despite the success scored in Berlin.

But we can expect definite steps to be made in the direction of troop withdrawal negotiations. Nato has already worked out a timetable for this at the June meeting in Lisbon. It is possible that before September is out a conference will be held in Brussels at which acting foreign ministers or State secretaries will get together in order to work out a common attitude of Nato members in discussions with the East Bloc.

This negotiatiating position will then be put forward to the foreign ministers at the December Nato meeting for their definitive approval.

The next step after the decisions taken in Lisbon is the nomination of one or more junior negotiators for the sou[nding] out talks with the Warsaw Pact Sta[tes].

It is possible that the former Secretary-General Manlio Brosio, w[ho left] his post this summer, will be give[n the] task. He or whoever is given the jo[b will] first have to work out in conj[unction] with the West Bloc a suitable pro[gramme] for negotiations.

Not until then could the disarmament talks begin. And the [road] ahead would still be long and diff[icult]. The West is striving for "balanced" [troop] reduction, which would take into a[ccount] the different geographical lie of the countries with America separated [from] Eurpe by an ocean. The whole proc[ess of] talks could spread out over several [years].

The impenetrable veil of secrecy [that] has been drawn over the Salt talks [allows] only speculation about how they [will be] affected by the Berlin settlement.

But Berlin has provided a ba[sis on] which an answer can be found t[o a] question affecting not only the Salt [talks] but also the whole future developme[nt of] East-West relations. Would the So[viet] Union react to the news that Pre[sident] Nixon intended to visit Peking w[ith a] harder line in dealings with the West? [It] would have been easy for the Russians [to] take a hard line on Berlin and they d[id] not.

Fritz von Glo[...]

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 1 Septemb[er 1971])

SED leaders have no cause to complain

Frankfurter Rundschau

Detail is the very devil, the saying goes, and hackneyed phrases are not always wrong. The negotiators of the two German states will definitely have some difficulty in filling in the blanks of the Four-Power agreement on Berlin.

On the other hand it will not be quite as difficult as official circumspection and the impious hopes of opponents of the Berlin Agreement may make it out to be.

The Socialist Unity Party (SED) of the GDR is continuously stressing how satisfied it is with the outcome of the negotiations jointly worked out by Moscow and East Berlin.

SED leader Erich Honecker and his associates may not be entirely happy but they can hardly criticise the work of their Soviet allies with particular obduracy.

And as the ambassadors have settled a great many details the Germans' lee[way] on both sides is fairly limited.

For domestic reasons the SED le[aders] do not, for that matter, stand to [gain] from prolonging the negotiations for [any] length of time. GDR propagandists wil[l in] any case have difficulty in answering [a] number of questions posed by the low[er] echelons of the party organisation and the general public satisfactorily.

It is not succumbing to illusion to presume that the GDR will not object t[o] allow Berlin to vanish from the headlines as soon as possible.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 31 August 19[71])

Can Berlin survive?

Continued from page 5

forced the Western powers to be involved with the city.

If a government has emerged in Bonn that has no use for pan-German involvement; at least in the sense that has been accepted to date, and therefore has no conventional interest in Berlin as to date, then the basis for the West's interest in the divided city is swept away.

Berlin has been a burden to the Western powers for a long time. They bore this burden mainly because of their worries about political stability in West Germany.

When a Bonn government took over that promised them a certain degree of stability even if they lightened the Berlin burden, or to put it even more on the line, when the possibility of a serious conflict with this Bonn government arose if the Western powers did not throw some ballast overboard there was a lot in favour of the West taking advantage of the offer.

This moment is marked in America with an air of general tiredness with the rest of the world, a wave of neo-isolationism among our major allies who are attempting to ditch as many of their foreign responsibilities as possible.

It is difficult for a world power to cut back its defence spending while that of the other major world power is increasing and that power is defending its outposts stubbornly.

If it is true that Senator Mike Mansfield was bound to win the day sooner or later with his demands that there should be a reduction of American troop strength in Europe the question then arises, where does the second line of defence in Europe lie?

And if the American economic situation is so critical that the American President must announce an economic policy of protectionist measures then there is a marked likelihood that other political burdens will be offloaded on to other shoulders.

President Nixon has understood the basic tendencies in the United States for some time and has tried to predict the political consequences. He presumably hoped at the outset that he could limit his problems to Asia.

But he must have thought of the side-effects in Europe. When he gave the impetus for the Berlin negotiations in February 1969 with his speech at the Siemens factory he could scarcely have hoped that the Soviet Union would confirm the Western interpretation of the role of Berlin.

There has always been a difference of opinion among Americans about the extent to which conditions in Germany might change. There is no lack of hints that Richard Nixon and his advisers have begun to find Willy Brandt's policies, including his attitude to Berlin, suspect.

But as the crisis in America became more acute there must also have been a growing tendency to make the best of a bad job.

For many people in Washington who are in favour of partial disengagement from Europe or consider this unavoidable a Bonn government that backs up these ideas must seem like a godsend.

It is understandable that the United States does not want too much emphasis laid on this aspect of the Berlin package, even at the price of strengthening opponents in Germany and crippling friends.

If the process of disengagement is to be carried out with as little risk as possible it is essential that it be carried out as unobtrusively as possible.

It is a sign of the refinements of Russian politics in the postwar years that they are prepared to accept these Western methods.

But whether the German and the American interest in glossing over the matter tally, that is the question — a question that is naturally directed at the Opposition in Bonn.

Where is the limit of withdrawals to be drawn if a spade is not going to be called a spade? We have already seen that the Soviet Union has made a more powerful call for its cherished European Security Conference hardly before the ink on the Berlin settlement is dry. And we can see how America is preparing for this co[n]ference with an air of resignation.

Is the end of this security conference to be greeted likewise with a clinking of glasses and happy optimism even though no one in Washington has the slightest doubt that its aim will be to obtain the political sanctioning of the division of Germany and the shifting of the political balance in Europe in favour of the Soviet Union?

If anyone can see any other end tha[n] capitulation in easy instalments then he should speak now or forever hold his peace. And as it is mainly German interests that are affected it is essential that Germans be the ones to speak up.

As Berlin has shown us there are many tides that cannot be turned and much that has been done cannot be undone. But much of the damage can still be kept within finite bounds if German politicians make Americans constantly aware of common interests.

Above all the search for a substitute for diminishing American power will be most successful if the very need for it is not hushed up.

If they do not want to simply surrender Western Europeans will develop the w[ill] to stand up for themselves and will take over at least part of the burden that [has] become too heavy for the United St[ates].

Dieter Cycon

(Die Welt, 31 August 19[71])

ROUND THE GALLERIES

Frankfurt graphic art exhibition stresses reality and spontaneity

[T]he artist in his dependence on reality [f]umbles his way around with his stick [of c]harcoal and his brushes and respect[ful]ly takes a step back behind authentic [and] purposeful recording of facts.

[W]ith the uneasy conscience of the [se]ducer who has been caught out he [re]alises that up till now he has diverted [his] audiences with art.

Now, by way of a change, he lets himself be diverted and modestly takes up a position in the shadow of the Sunday afternoon sketcher.

Proof positive of this has been provid[e]d, although not entirely intentionally, [b]y an educational exhibition.

It is called *Zeichnen heute* (drawing today) and was compiled by Alfred Hrdlicka, one of the best Neo-Mannerist artists and sculptors in Austria, for the Vienna Festival.

It was the only unpretentious contribution relevant to the present day at a pretentious social gathering and is now on show in West Germany. It will be at

DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG

Frankfurt's Kunstverein until 26 September.

Although no voluntarily, gaolbird Heinz Karrer from Vienna was the inspiration behind this exhibition.

At the last Biennale in Venice the oft-repeated question cropped up again: can people today still draw? At about the same time escaped convict Karrer sent the Vienna Kronen-Zeitung a sketch of the hiding-place in which he had concealed the pistol used during his attempted break.

The artist Alfred Hrdlicka was highly fascinated by this drawing. The main interest of the public at the Frankfurt exhibition was far less turned to the artistic works.

Even if the observer knows nothing about the handwriting of painters and sculptors such as Alexander Calder, Jorge, Castillo, Ernst Fuchs, Roland Goeschl, Rudolf Hausner, Rudolf Hoflehner, Bernhard Jaeger, Giacomo Manzu, Josef Mikl, Henry Moore, Arnulf Rainer, Kumi Sugai, Andreas Urteil and Fritz Wotruba they are all of far less value from the point of view of fascinating the audiences when compared with a sketch as part of an action or as the design for a situation which rouses the most primitive curiosity.

More interesting than the works of the artists at this comparative exhibition are the pictures painted by sick people at Austrian psychiatric clinics, the exhibition pictures of the Central Statistics Office, strategic notes from the Ministry of Defence, sketches at the scene of the crime contributed by the Institute for Forensic Medicine, reconstructions of accidents, euphemistically touched-up election posters, a Viennese football team manager's soccer choreographies, meteorological drawings, architectural designs, counterfeited banknotes, balance sheets and quick sketches with which many artists paid their bill at the Vienna café.

Among the contributors to this exhibition, a really heterogeneous bunch, are the Austrian Railways, the Federal Gymnastics Institute, the mime artist Marcel Marceau, the Institute for Medical Hypnosis, the film director Federico Fellini, a lieutnant colonel in the intelligence service, painter Max Raffler, the Austrian patents office, the stage designer Sanjust, and the Vienna Planetarium.

It is not necessary to protract this list any further. The point has been made that this exhibition has shown that drawing now as ever has an important function in many aspects of everyday life as a direct form of communication, notation and planning.

At this level of communication there is consequently no difference with regard to effect between an artist and a non-artist.

It could even be said that at this level the artist is grateful to accept any inspiration that is offered by the layman.

Thus the artists responsible for this exhibition failed to achieve any aesthetic appraisal. Simply and solely the functional character of graphic art was what was decisive for them.

How near the artist is to reality and how realistic his procedure is should be read from the comparison with the lay exponents.

Content is far more important than artistic handwriting for comparison, for no graphic artist is prepared to go without the capital which raises him above the level of the dilettante and also makes him lose the directness which is common to the dilettantes: the capital of the visibly formulated insight into the power of the line which is suggestive of form.

This is highly rated in the words of Ruskin and Kandinsky and in the battery of key phrases by the art historian Dr Walter Koschatzky in the catalogue to this exhibition.

His contribution emphasises the continuing distancing form reality, something which artists are not keen to have emphasised during an exhibition of this nature, needless to say.

Koschatzky wrote the fatal sentence: "If the artist's hand is spontaneous in the act of creation without any decisive rational pause for thought and without any inhibiting technical problems to crop up between what the artist wants and what he is capable of . . ."

This is tantamount to saying that the artist who amiably stoops to realism may be forgiven if he misses the target! He is after all an artist and it is his duty to steer clear of reality.

According to Dr Koschatzky he need not fear that his work will be subjected to rational analysis.

The artistic drawing as a portrait of an artist's soul takes a back seat at this exhibition, trembling somewhat in the face of the hard precise lines with which engineers map out technical products, the first rudiments of a power station, a complex of buildings, aeroplanes and ships.

The artist's works looks timid against the "compulsive lines of the mental patient. It seems vague when compared with the Utopian power of architectural visions and is divorced from life when compared with the reconstruction of an accident. It seems prudish when compared with the brash obscenities engraved on the lavatory wall.

The painter Adolf Frohner took a candid camera and photographed graffiti on walls between Simmering and Brigittenau, Zedlitzhalle and Reichsbrücke. The artist envies those who without scruples can express themselves openly on walls, their curses, protests, love affairs, unclean thoughts — engravings that announce their existence and gain them a small slice of immortality.

In this exhibition there is only one man who permanently succeeds in bringing to his drawings the inartistic spontaneous gesture and manages to draw the same amount of attention to them as a number of convicts to their pictures in a reconstructed cell, the schizophrenic patient Karl at an Austrian clinic or Cardinal König in his rough sketch for the design of an Easter candle. This is Arnulf Rainer. He wades into art destructively or correctively and thus brings it nearer to reality.

In the catalogue it states: "In the processes of industrial manufacturing, faster and faster travel and the modern economy, graphic art has an intrinsic role to play and is indispensable. It is such an important part of modern living that a worldwide drawing strike would be tantamount to a general strike. It would be a catastrophe."

Ernst Günter Engelhard

(Deutsche Zeitung, 3 September 1971)

Othmar Zechyr's pen and ink drawing *Zugkatastrophe* (Photo: Katalog)

Frank Stella's minimal art show tours West Germany

Frankfurter Rundschau

For his sketches at least Frank (Philip) Stella uses exclusively standardised, two-dimensional elements of linear structure. Stella, who was born in 1936 in Massachusetts and has been in New York since 1958, takes a pair, or more often than not two or three pairs, and arranges them in random, interchangeable wholes. Or he places them in symmetrical relationship to one another.

According to Friedrich W. Heckmann's notes in the programme to the current Frank Stella exhibition in this country, in both cases every arrangement of elements becomes "identical with appearance of the whole, so that the transmutation of this into a consequent pictorial concept not only achieves a completely new solution of the combination, but also makes the group reference of the individual pictorial form visible to the preceding and following concept."

In this way the pictures become manifestations of what is syntactically possible. They signify nothing more than this. They do not point the way to anything other than this. They are not related to anything definite, nor to anything real — they simply maintain their own reality.

For the observer they are freely available as mere objects.

This does not apply to Stella's sketches completed between 1967 and 1970 and which are now being shown in their entirety at Hamburg's Kunsthalle and which will be moving on to at least seven other cities in the Federal Republic.

It applies also to his works using other painting media, namely the 46 lithographs and the solitary silk-screen print, which were also executed between 1967 and 1970.

Stella is mostly concerned with their objective character. They are correspondingly devoid of secrets. They look correspondingly "simple". They could scarcely be simpler.

Thus they could scarcely be less compelling. The discretion of these pictures makes it inevitable that any reaction to them is a one-sided reaction. It does not interest Stella.

What the observer does with these pictures that are put at his disposal, what he makes of them, is his own affair. Everything that he thinks and feels is asimilated. But there is no challenge to think or feel anything. Questions are permitted. But answers should not be expected.

The richness of these pictures is in their poverty. Their value as a challenge is in their surrender. Their finite bounds consist of their rational infinity. In fact no style was ever so finite as Minimal Art. (Stella's works are included in this group. Their predecessor, Josef Albers, still included psychological and physiological phenomena of perception in his constellations and structures).

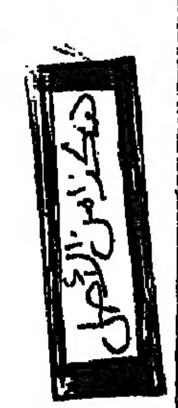
Just where Minimal Art is leading to is demonstrated rather decisively by the Hamburg exhibition. Demonstrative in one way is the manner in which the conditions of the exhibition are made to fit what is exhibited.

How, for example, the 47 works deny the world around them, deny the existence of the galleries in which they hang.

The architectonic way in which they are placed together, their serial principle, is neither here nor there. Stella never puts his graphic art together in any other way. His works are always series (although in differing combinations) of similarly shaped elements. These pictures and galleries want to be left alone. So let's leave them alone.

Jürgen Schmidt

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 2 September 1971)



■ HEALTH

Thalidomide children learn to live with their handicap

Every year some 100,000 handicapped children are born in the Federal Republic. Public interest is focused on the effects of thalidomide and the children born to mothers who had used this medicament. How are these children managing with their deformity? Has their terrible fate helped to improve relations between the handicapped and the non-handicapped? A Cologne research group has investigated how these children overcome their disabilities to live relatively happy lives.

Where do the physically handicapped live? As far away as possible, segregrated from the non-handicapped. That's much more convenient," a 24-year-old girl, herself a cripple, wrote in a letter to this paper.

She has succeeded in life. She passed her school-leaving examinations and her driving-test. She is now in her second year at Marburg University studying German and history.

But she has gone through everything that the results of a survey only suggest. About ninety per cent of the population do not know how to behave towards a person who is physically handicapped.

Sixty-three per cent believe that physically handicapped children are better off in a home. More than half the people interviewed would not like to live under the same roof as a person who was physically handicapped.

One person interviewed said, "We don't want to bring Hitler into it but he made a clean sweep of these homes and gave everyone a merciful injection ..." This perverted idea of euthanasia is taken one step further where the mentally handicapped are concerned: "They have even less from life."

These statistics and statements were obtained during a representative survey conducted by *Infratest* at the instigation

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

of a Cologne research group dealing with physically handicapped children.

A normal person is shaken from his mental balance on seeing a handicapped person. Lie detector experiments show that epidermal resistance increases, indicating a feeling of revulsion.

This reaction can also be observed in people who have almost daily contact with the physically handicapped such as teachers and doctors at schools for the physically handicapped and those researchers working on the Cologne project.

Since the survey the researchers have advanced a considerable way towards finding possibilities of communication between the handicapped and the non-handicapped.

The findings of the survey are confirmed by those reactions of the vegetative nervous system that can be accurately measured. As this aversion obviously cannot be controlled by willpower general appeals are of no use.

Pleas for sympathy and the call to be friendly to handicapped fellow-humans will prove fruitless. The thalidomide tragedy, the long trial at Alsdorf and television broadcasts on behalf of *Aktion Sorgenkind* have brought publicity and money for artificial limbs, homes and workshops but they have aroused little interest in the human problems of the handicapped.

"We are the best television models so we must also be the best for the *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*," a boy told us at the second Thalidomide Congress in Cologne's Sporthalle. This twelve-year-old's statement sounded self-confident but cynical too.

A really pretty girl sighed, "It's always the same story. I've either got to laugh or look sad. I no longer want any part of it all."

Weeks later the two children found that the non-handicapped preferred to avoid them. West German tourists on the Italian Adriatic objected to them being in the same hotel.

The wish to be spared seeing a handicapped person is thought by the Cologne researchers to be a sign not of animosity but of insecurity.

The head of the research group, psychologist Gerd Hansen, states, "One is completely helpless when confronted by a helpless person."

At present he sees only one chance of understanding between the handicapped and the non-handicapped — the handicapped person must seize the initiative and make it clear to his non-handicapped colleague what he expects of him. Jansen states, "The handicapped person must not be an object of pity."

What a handicapped person needs to draw his fellow-humans from their reserve can only be outlined here. Flair, intuition, and understanding of people, perseverance and a high degree of self-confidence above all are required.

An important factor is conquering one's own disability. The difficulties arising from this and the way to get over them have only really been seen since thalidomide children have been observed. A large number of children of about the same age and with essentially the same disabilities are nearly all taken care of together.

The first problem for the thalidomide children was the question of what they could and could not do. "At first they thought most of all of what they could not do," psychologist Franz O. Esser of the Cologne research team reports.

"This problem was soon surmounted," he adds, "by showing the children what they could do. Today the children are able to make a realistic assessment of their capabilities."

One example from the thalidomide class in Cologne will suffice to illustrate this point. During one lesson a little boy expressed his wish to become a vet.

His teacher and fellow-pupils then discussed the physical exertions that this profession demands. The ten-year-old, affected in all four limbs, said at the end of the debate, "I realise that I will not be able to make it. Instead I shall be a vet for small animals."

Drawings can illustrate this development even better. Two years ago, after two years of intensive care, the children were asked for the first time to draw themselves.

A girl who was completely armless pictured herself at the age of six with arms spread wide. Two years later she drew herself as she really was — armless and with her hands growing from her shoulders. Her laughing face has not changed.

At the age of seven a boy with shortened arms drew his self-portrait with overlarge arms and a large number of fingers. When he was nine he drew himself with normally developed arms and legs. He also drew a speech bubble in which he wrote, "This is not me, this is how I want to be."

Two other examples show how plainly and unemotionally the children see their disability and that of their classmates. One boy on handing his drawing to the teacher said, "I won't need to write my name on this, I'm the only person in the class with three fingers on each hand."

A girl with legs of different length (not that this was very noticeable) emphasised the deformity in her drawing by exaggerating the difference. A classmate corrected her work. She had made the wrong leg too long.

Referring to the pictures, psychologist Esser stated, "First of all the children see themselves as they would like to be. When they drew themselves, they also drew in their missing limbs, exaggerating their size for the very reason that they are missing."

The second problem facing the children was their position in society. All of them have seen how people turn away from them in trams, observe them curiously or awkwardly express their sympathy.

One twelve-year-old had to endure the insolence of adults. An elderly couple blocked his way at a bus stop. The man bluntly asked him why his mother had taken thalidomide. When the boy remained silent, the wife took her husband aside and said, "Leave him alone, he'll soon be receiving compensation from the manufacturers."

Discussions following an incident of this type are usually generalised and included in the larger framework of the social position of all minorities.

Eight-to ten-year-old could not usually be expected to be interested in this type of problem. Franz Esser states, "Their own experiences and the chance to discuss them have helped them to gain early understanding of the subject."

The children have made a number of suggestions to help improve their situation — even for the time they spend at school.

The third problem facing handicapped children is the most difficult to overco[...] — their position within the family [...] family with a handicapped child i[...] handicapped family," it was once sa[...] a conference years ago. This statemen[...] lost none of its weight.

There is the shock for the mother [...] the birth, her feelings of guilt can d[...] into a death-wish, the child has to spe[...] long time in hospital, undergo a nu[...] of operations and be nursed far bey[...] infancy.

The mother of the handicapped c[...] must nearly always come to terms w[...] these facts on her own and in [...] realisation that overcoming a disabi[...] not a process that will one day [...] completed. New problems constantly [...] the child as he grows up.

A woman, whose son was born wi[...] shortened arms and is practically [...] explained how she had got over the [...] difficult stages: "I always told m[...] that the main thing was for the chi[...] be mentally normal. Everything else i[...] no consequence."

The ability of the mother to withs[...] the physical and mental strain is refle[...] in the behaviour of the child. Ine[...] Lohmar, head of the Cologne School [...] Handicapped Children for almost [...] years says, "The child's attitudes depe[...] on the way its parents got over [...] disability."

It is difficult to judge what role the father plays in a family wi[...] handicapped child. One of the researc[...] admitted that they knew nothing ab[...] the subject. He was however mistrust[...] of forceful actions of some fathers i[...] parent associations.

None of the researchers doubt th[...] group therapy would help parents. B[...] one of them admitted that psycho[...] rapists would probably be too afraid [...] embark on such a project. "It would [...] too explosive," he said.

Marianne Quoi[...]

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 28 August [...])

■ MEDICINE

Micro-surgery and nerve transplantation dominate Karlsruhe neurology congress

Operational microscopes with ten to twenty fold magnification today permit surgeons to carry out operations on nerve centres that would have been thought impossible a few years ago.

Doctors at the 23rd Therapy Week in Karlsruhe reported that the finest individual nerve centres only a fraction of a millimetre thick could now be separated and surgically reactivated.

A relatively safe operation on the spinal cord or the trigerminus nerve can block some almost intolerable states of pain far more effectively than brain surgery.

Even the smallest tumours in the central nervous system can be removed with the help of operational microscopics with such a degree of accuracy that there is little danger of renewed tumour growth.

Dr Lorenz of Giessen and Dr Samii told the congress that extraordinary progress had been made in nerve transplants with the aid of modern micro-surgery.

In the transplants a skin nerve of minor importance is usually used to replace a more important nerve that has been damaged. It is particularly important to free the transplanted nerve of the fine surrounding tissue that could harm nerve tissue after the transplant.

Surgeons are subjected to a strict regime of self-discipline when carrying out these micro-technical operations, it was reported at the Karlsruhe congress.

Even the slightest twitch of a hand could compromise the success of an operation. Coffee, alcohol and even strenuous *manual* work is absolutely taboo.

But the successes are astonishing. Eighteen years after an injury causing a complete lack of feeling over large areas of the head a patient was cured with the help of a nerve transplant.

It still remains questionable however whether similar successes will result from the use of nerves conserved from patients who have recently died.

Blood vessel surgery is no more difficult than neurosurgery today. Replacing contricted arteries in the heart and brain as well as the periphery of the body with artificial blood vessels or less important ones taken from another part of the patient's body is no more than a matter of routine under present-day conditions.

Professor Widmer, the head of the angiological ward in Basle University Hospital, and other Swiss doctors told the congress participants how circulatory difficulties in the brain could be treated with similar surgical measures.

The most recent tour de force in brain surgery is the work of these specialists. With a number of circulatory disorders of the brain they reroute the temporal artery from its normal course near the surface by the temples into the depths of the brain to bring more blood to those areas of the brain threatened by a lack of oxygen.

Professor Hirschmann of Tübingen and other prominent doctors stated that circulatory disorders of the brain could be the cause of sudden blackouts or strokes that are not always easy to distinguish from epileptic fits.

This type of stroke is nearly always linked with a sudden drop in blood pressure and can be set off by circulatory disorders, irregularities on the periphery of the heart as well as by mental factors and physical strain.

The classic example is the strong, muscular slaughterman who fainted when he once cut himself by accident and saw his own blood.

But other incidents too can lead to a sudden loss of consciousness. Doctors at Karlsruhe reported that it was often sufficient to apply slight pressure to the carotid sinus nerve centre in the neck to cause a sudden drop in blood pressure and a fainting fit.

This nerve centre is found at the exact point where the carotid artery divides into two branches. In many people a turn of the head which is almost unavoidable when reversing a car for instance is enough to cause a loss of consciousness.

Other causes similar to this are bending the neck while shaving, wearing a shirt with too tight a collar or an embrace which is only meant to be tender.

Thyroids or the psyche?

These strokes, which usually pass almost as quickly as they come, must be distinguished from similar unconscious states that can be caused by complaints of the tiny glands next to the thyroid, by purely psychological factors similar to hysteria or by narcolepsia where the patient expresses a sudden and irresistible urge to sleep.

Dr Ross of Tübingen said that the most effective way to treat narcolepsia was by using pep-pills and similar drugs. There is no need to fear addiction in these cases, he added. A patient suffering from narcolepsia obviously lacks the substances to keep awake. The drugs he is then prescribed only balances a biochemical deficit.

Christoph Wolff

(Die Welt, 1 September 1971)

Doctors have scant success in treating compulsive drinkers

If alcoholism is classified as a sickness then medicine registers its lowest success rate in this sphere. Seventy-seven per cent of the alcoholics who undergo medical treatment later return to their old ways. It was stated at the Therapy Week in Karlsruhe that 1.4 million registered alcoholics live in the Federal Republic.

Dr Lecher of the Psychosomatic Clinic at Kinzigtal said in Karlsruhe that the low success rate in the treatment of alcoholics was due less to the help offered them than to the methods employed.

On the one hand doctors learn little about alcoholism during their university studies and sometimes their interest in treating alcoholics is minimal.

On the other hand the alcoholic often has no contact with the doctor and is not prepared to agree to unconditional surrender in the consulting-room.

Alcoholics Anonymous, an organisation set up here on the American model, states that there are 1.4 million known alcoholics in the Federal Republic. Fifty per cent of them are women.

But when the secret drinkers are included Dr Lecher estimates the total number of alcoholics to be somewhere between three and five million.

Many of these are diagnosed by doctors or in hospital as cases of physical and mental exhaustion, coronary or circulatory neurosis or stomach and intestinal catarrh. Alcoholics are always intent on covering up their addiction as long as possible.

Although the Federal Social Court in Kassel ruled in 1968 that alcoholism was a disease and that sickness insurance firms had to cover the costs of treatment, opinion in medical circles still varies.

To illustrate this, Dr Lecher quoted from an article writen by a doctor for the news sheet published by the Association of Private Sickness Insurance Schemes.

The writer denies that alcoholism is a disease, adding, "When a person deliberately drinks — he'll always find a reason for it in retrospect — he is not sick but unstable ... I think it absurd to reward alcoholism by paying the costs of the treatment and allowing the drinker pocket money for the time he spends in hospital."

Lecher on the other hand views alcoholism as a sickness that begins even before the patient begins to drink. In the beginning there is a complicated false pattern of behaviour learnt or adopted when a child. This only manifests itself when the person becomes adult and is confronted with the conflicts of everyday life.

Illogically, he tries to lessen the conflict, free himself from it or achieve what seems to be a proper solution. The chances of living a life based on the realities of the situation become more and more minimal.

"There then comes the day," Lecher says, "When the person tries to abandon his unsurmounted conflicts with the aid of alcohol. Drinking for consolation gradually becomes an addiction. The person can no longer live without alcohol and this brings new conflicts which he again tries to drink away."

Lecher believes that an alcoholic can be freed from this vicious circle with the help of an organisation like Alcoholics Anonymous in which sick people help other sick people, meet in groups and discuss their problems in the hope that this will end the process of self-destruction through alcohol.

Walther Schallies

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 1 September 1971)

Pep pills cannot offset strain of modern living

Treating illnesses as no more than a mechanical breakdown where the doctor has to get the patient back on to his feet as soon as possible with the help of a surgical operation or suitable medicaments no longer conforms to the ideas behind modern medicine.

Doctors have long realised this but their "customers" do not seem to have passed the stage of unconditional belief in medical progress;

We have therefore to accept the contradiction of a situation where the 23rd Therapy Congress in Karlsruhe stressed the sociological background to illness while the pharmaceutical industry saw fit to reveal the causes of the increased consumption of medicaments at its stand at the medicaments fair.

There are a large number of very plausible reasons for why the consumption of medicaments is increasing. Medicine is now able to control diseases that used to claim countless lives in the past. Before effective medicaments combatting these diseases were known, consumption of them was necessarily low or non-existent.

General advances in hygiene and medicine now mean that people grow far older than in the past. This in turn results in an increase in the consumption of medicaments used in the treatment of typical old-age diseases.

The matter only starts to become critical where the increase in the turnover of pharmaceutical firms can be traced to factors reflecting a change in the quality and style of living. Cigarettes, alcohol, excess weight, diabetes and venereal diseases all come into this category.

A lack of physical training and movement caused by the status symbol of the motor car and resulting in an increase of circulatory complaints has become an integral part of our life along with noise, pollution, other irritations, alienation, isolation and conflicts in professional life and within a family.

This is the context in which to see the much-criticised though little fought belief in the power of pills, the compulsion to take medicaments of all types and the idea that medical skill and highly effective drugs will prove a lasting guard against the results of an irrational style of living.

Seen in this light, the pharmaceutical industry is to a certain extent right when it claims that it is not its desire for profits that creates the demand which it then satisfies but the patient himself, his environment and society in its present state that continue to make at least a section of this demand increase.

The whizz-kids of modern advertising who are also active in this branch are not over-eager to counter this development and stop pharmaceutics from becoming an insurance against the results of overluxurious living. They cannot be blamed for this but the fact must be admitted more frankly than is normally the case.

Here we can see the contradiction between the realisation of modern medicine that sociological factors also play a role in sickness and the indifference of society towards taking logical steps from this, even with the aid of decisive and consistent measures by the State.

At the opening of the Medicaments Fair the president of the Therapy Congress Professor Hand-Erhard Bock of Tübingen confirmed that consumption and not action was people's chief attitude where health was concerned today.

The situation was paradoxical, he said. Despite improved hygiene at home and at a person's place of work, despite more effective phamaceutical products and their unlimited supply, despite good nourishment and an increase in leisure time the number of people applying for and receiving pensions before the official retiring age for reasons of disability or sickness was rising, more and more periods of convalescence were demanded and trifling complaints were built up into hospital cases.

Admittedly, the pharmaceutical industry does not deserve a halo. Irrespective of its spendid achievements since the War there is still due cause for complaint though this involves distribution more than production.

These problems cannot be approached very well without taking account of their link with the illogical and contradictory ideas of society about the doctor's relation to his patients, about sickness, the environment and drugs. More than one whipping-boy has to be sought. The Therapy Congress at Karlsruhe should have given ample evidence of that.

Karlheinz Ebert

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 31 August 1971)

ECONOMIC COOPERATION

Cologne agency provides cash and know-how for industry in Third World



No other West German holding company has such a wide range of activities as the Cologne-based Society for Economic Cooperation and Development, DEG for short.

Its activities include producing natural fertilisers in the Ivory Coast, synthetic materials in the Cameroons, sugar in Kenya, cotton products in Somalia, cables in Argentinia, machine tools and plastics manufacturing equipment in Brazil, tiles in Thailand, meters for measuring alternating current in South Korea and underwear in Israel.

In Argentina the company organises plantations of medicinal herbs for the pharmaceutical industry and it helps to bring foreign exchange to Kenya with tourist hotels.

This is only a sample from the list of work carried out by DEG in 1970. Last year, in fact, this country's investments in developing nations dropped from 1,194 million Marks to 828 million but DEG's aid pledges the highest level since the company was formed in 1962.

In 24 new aid undertakings contributions towards the financing of development programmes worth a total of 48 million Marks were contractually concluded.

This aid takes the form of six completely new projects and eighteen investments for the expansion of projects already under way in thirteen countries.

What is decisive is the snowball effect of this aid. The investments that the DEG will be helping to finance are worth in all 235 million Marks, a ratio of 4.9:1. In other words, the original investment by this country has increased almost fivefold in value.

The Cologne consultants are not striving to achieve a position of power but simply wish to create an initiative for getting these development projects under way.

In the figure for total investments in the projects in which DEG had assisted financing up to the end of 1970 the proportion of DEG funds was 1:5.6.

The ability of developing countries to finance their own projects has declined steeply in the past few years. More important than public development aid from industrialised nations for the nations of the Third World is the development of their own productivity, so that in international trading they are not forced to rely largely or solely on the export of raw materials which are subject to great price fluctuations.

On the basis of the figures for 1969 it has been calculated that a ten-per-cent increase in exports from underdeveloped countries would bring them more foreign exchange than a fifty-per-cent increase in national development aid programmes by the industrial nations.

Interest is not centred entirely on productivity to bring in more foreign exchange via exports, such as Third World countries' manufacturing from their own raw materials, but also on the production of goods that have had to be imported up till now, so that foreign exchange might be saved.

Most of DEG's promises of aid at the end of 1970, eighty-five out of a total of 104, concentrated on the production side, with heavy machinery and vehicle building in the forefront, followed by the leather, textiles and clothing industries and electronics and mechanics.

In ten cases DEG has agreed to assist banks expressly for the purpose of development work and finance houses for the same purpose. Seven offers of aid are concerned with expanding tourism.

Geographically speaking the most important area of DEG activity in 1970 was Africa. Of the new contracts it has accepted 55 per cent are in countries with a negro population, 21 per cent are in Asia, nineteen per cent in Latin America and only five per cent in Europe.

The DEG has a large interest in three development companies in East Africa, in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda. Via these partial companies indirect financing of ninety projects has been possible to date.

In Europe the company's activities are to be extended from the present Greece, Portugal and Spain to Yugoslavia. In addition founding a subsidiary company of a Rumanian consulting firm is being considered. The subsidiary would be based in the Federal Republic.

In order to spread limited capital over as large an area as possible DEG has made a virtue of necessity and contents itself with giving smallish sums to as many projects as feasible to give them a start. The basic idea of the DEG is not to found foreign subsidiaries in which it has a 100-per-cent share but joint ventures which are permeated with the idea of partnership, not only in the origins of their capital, but also in the basis of their management. The resultant respect of the interests of both sides serves to defuse possible political risks.

Of the manufacturing companies in which the DEG has an interest two thirds have already come through the lean early days. Half of these (one third of the total) are profit-making and are paying out dividends of between three and twelve per cent.

As always the companies are glad to be making a profit and paying a dividend, but in the case of these development companies it can mean the parting of the ways. When the companies have proved that they are viable without the participation of DEG the DEG pulls out. Any money they make from the ventures can then be ploughed back into other development aid schemes. This year will see the start of this turn-round.

With this idealistic basic concept DEG is never going to pay out handsome dividends to its sole shareholder, the Federal Republic. On the contrary, as the scope of DEG's work increases its basic capital has to be boosted by the State.

Last year the balance sheet total was up from 143 million to 240 million Marks and the product of profit-making companies is ploughed back fully in the form of depreciation and value adjustments applied to depreciation either by deduction from the value of asset or by entry on the liabilities side of the balance sheet. This time in addition there was a further five million Marks from the issue premium.

The company is forced to take precautions against the risks involved since its interests are in no way insured against either political or economic risks.

The economic events of the past few weeks have shown just how important it is for the interests of a national economy to be spread out as far as possible over the world, with plenty of pillars for support.

This was pointed out on publication of the DEG business report by the Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Franz Heinrich Ulrich, who said that the worries that were being expressed about the country's economy and exports were justified.

Unfortunately although 1970 brought the highest ever figure for West German investments abroad, 3,500 million Marks as compared with 3,300 million in the previous year our investments in developing countries dropped.

The firms that the DEG wants to assist as contributors to development aid are showing reluctance. They tend to be over-afraid of the risks and in part they feel that they lack the personnel with the right skills.

They are also partly motivated by a lack of liquid cash. About thirty per cent of DEG investments abroad involve major firms therefore and not the medium-sized firms that DEG would really like to interest.

At the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation (responsible for development aid) officials are wondering if legislation to promote development aid could be made more effective. One possibility is a graded promotion scheme permitting regional directives for investment abroad.

One way of making such business more attractive would be to increase preferences making the developing countries that have so far been largely neglected more favoured.

At the same time preferences in countries that have already benefited greatly from development aid would be reduced.

DEG has realised the necessity for regional emphasis in development aid programmes and in 1970 it began investigations into investment potential in those developing countries that had been neglected. It is drawing up reports to place before potential investors in these countries.

Gunther Schach

(Deutsche Zeitung, 3 September 1971)

Director of Bonn's development aid workers refutes charges of political involvement

Opposition politicians and newspapers in the Federal Republic have seized on the recall of four development aid volunteers from Brazil after they printed in their journal an article by a local revolutionary named "Camilio" as an opportunity for accusing the German Development Aid Organisation (DED) and its roughly 1,000 volunteers, at present working in 25 countries, of being to a certain extent political. In an interview with Bonn correspondent Hans Lerchbacher the Chairman of the DED administrative council, Professor Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker, answers questions about the actitivities of development aid workers.

Frankfurter Rundschau: In the light of the Camilio Affair how would you define the basic duties of a development aid volunteer?

Von Weizsäcker: We insist that our workers are "voluntary helpers". They put they services at our disposal for a limited time so that by means of their physical powers, learning, working talents and competence they can train people in another country. It is to a relatively high degree a service run by experts.

Frankfurter Rundschau: A humanitarian service?

Von Weizsäcker: The expression "humanitarian" is widely used, but it certainly describes what I mean.

Frankfurter Rundschau: What is your opinion of the definition of the Minister for Economic Cooperation, Erhard Eppler, of the development aid volunter as "a peaceful revolutionary, who by practical means and non-violence achieves political and social progress; he shares the sadness and the shame of those who are deprived of human rights, but not their hatred"?

Von Weizsäcker: My description would not have applied the term "revolutionary". This is not how I see it. Without the reference to "revolutionary" the definition used by Minister Eppler is very good. I cannot share the view that Eppler has made the development aid programme a political affair. I often work with young people and I have noted that they often have a strong desire to change the world, which is to a certain extent a revolutionary urge. If young people are to be taken on as volunteers they must be given a channel through which they can steer their intentions. This is presumably what Herr Eppler has tried to do.

Frankfurter Rundschau: What political views may a volunteer hold in the country where he is working — and in what form may he manifest them?

Von Weizsäcker: This question touches on the most tense aspect of development aid for the volunteer. He has gone there as a result of a treaty with the country in question and he must stick to the conditions of this treaty. That is to say he must not get involved in internal political disputes. This is what the volunteers in nothern Brazil did and this is why we took the action we did. There are situations in which people cannot give free rein to all the causes they believe in. But it is their human right to believe in those causes nonetheless.

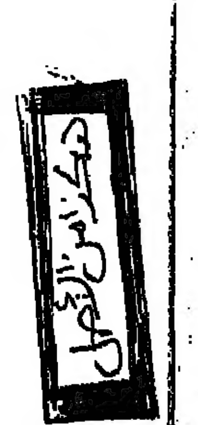
Frankfurter Rundschau: Can the organiser — the Ministry or the Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst — lay down rules to volunteers on the political attitudes they may or may not adopt?

Von Weizsäcker: I personally would not want to tell a volunteer what political views he may hold. I simply want to make it clear to volunteers that if they adopt certain political attitudes they will not be good development aid workers. The only regulations I would make would be that the volunteers should pay due attention to the sensibilities of the host country and use discretion at all times. Naturally while we are deeply concerned about the people and the social situation in the countries where we give aid we insist that it is not the duty of a development aid worker to expound the politics of the Federal Republic. He is not a government emissary and I am opposed to this idea of his being a missionary coming to the fore. He is not a Bonn government ambassador, but simply a person whose wish to help others can be realised by the financing of the DED on behalf of the Bonn government.

Frankfurter Rundschau: So you believe that a development aid volunteer should not support the politics of liberation fronts or revolutionary organisations — even if he has realised that more human rights can only be won for the inhabitants of the country where he is working by violent means?

Von Weizsäcker: I believe that there are many situations in which a volunteer can help the individuals in a country without becoming involved in the question of

Continued on page 11



GDR

Leipzig Fair is an opportunity for East Berlin to show willing

Tearing down border barricades is one of the main aims of the Bonn government. Politically speaking the deep chasm between the two Germanies is far from being bridged, but from the point of view of trade policies we already have an open frontier, although this is not without its problems.

This year trade between the two German States is heading for the five-milliard-Mark level. But from the point of view of trade policies the significance of this is variable. The figure amounts to about two per cent of our world trade, but at the same time it is about one tenth of the German Democratic Republic's total exports.

One constant factor that always had to be taken into account in trade between the two parts of this country was the differential between exports and imports.

The GDR had and still has a great need for high quality industrial goods, but has too little foreign exchange to pay for them. The items they have for sale are firstly limited because of the requirements of Comecon partners and secondly by the fact that they are not too attractive to Western markets.

Thus the GDR got further and further into debt, while Pankow and Bonn euphemistically described the trade gap as "a cumulative balance-sheet plus for the Federal Republic".

For some months now, however, this tendency has come to a standstill. Companies across the border in the East are supplying this country with more goods and our sales in the GDR are stagnating. The gap is not closing completely, but at least it is not being opened any wider. It has even been possible for the GDR to cut back its debts to around 1,200 million Marks.

This sum includes an interest-free loan of 440 million (swing), of which the GDR has been taking full advantage and which will be raised contractually to about 520 million Marks in 1972. The rest of the money is part of binding agreements between firms with varying dates of repayment.

For salesmen in West Germany there has been an unpleasant consequence of the hesitant balancing of inter-German trade. They are no longer able to sell so much in East Germany since the orders from East Berlin are not coming in at the hitherto frantic rate.

With the Leipzig Fair coming up there has been a slackening off of trade. Exports are stagnating.

Companies that have traded with the GDR have always needed men with thick skins as salesmen. The chain of concessions that have been made by this country is long. Interest-free loans, customs concessions and price adjustments — these have all been virtually a chink in the EEC armour. Quotas have been abolished, there have been a number of adjustment payments and there has been a constant liberalisation of trade with the GDR.

East Berlin's reaction has been to direct polemics against West Germany and at every Leipzig Fair exhibitors from this country — the main contingent at the fair after the GDR itself — have had to put up with discrimination against them.

Perhaps we can now hope that the talks between the two Germanies will lead to a better climate in future at Leipzig.

It must be conceded that the GDR is now more productive and as a trading partner is able to export more than in the past. Added to this the country's ability to pay for imports, which was still described as weak in 1970, is now much stronger.

East Berlin could help towards a normalisation of trade by throwing some light on the shady steel deals. It is difficult to believe that the authorities in the GDR know nothing about how firms have channlled steel en masse from other East Bloc countries into the inter-German trade network, taking advantage of the special preferences that cover inter-German trade and at the same time cashing in themselves.

Despite the balance of trade at present, which has hit this country's sales, the mountain of debts is still high and precludes any possibility of the actual trade levels between the two Germanies being completely evenly balanced.

The GDR lacks the flexibility to really get to grips with Western markets and in addition the country has to suffer the incompetence of its planners, a harsh winter and a shortage of supplies.

Moreover the Soviet Union as the head of the Comecon bloc has set the signals clearly to mark the way ahead — the communist world has unreserved trade precedence! This leaves little room for manoeuvre for the free world. In future, too, the package of trade preferences should have a stimulating effect. For grain alone the GDR gets about twice as much from sales to West Germany as it would at world market prices. Thus agricultural exports are an attractive proposition, and the short distance to be covered keeps transport costs down to a minimum. This applies particularly to West Berlin, and following the Four-Power agreement the divided city could become the hub of trade between the two Germanys the between the communist and free world.

What are the chances of increasing trade between the two Germanys in the next few years? Since there is scarcely any question of raising extra credit, firms in the Federal Republic that export to East Germany must be prepared to accept that their growth rate in this direction at least will slacken off.

This means growth rates of perhaps ten to fifteen per cent instead of the twenty to thirty per cent they have become accustomed to.

As for the GDR, its firms must broaden their outlook with more modern products, better service and more aggressive marketing.

As the climate of the Federal Republic economy continues to cool down this will prove increasingly difficult for our eastern neighbour. The structure of the trade between the two States does not correspond by any means to the level that should be expected between two highly industrialised nations.

The main concern is to keep trade free from the daily political ups and downs. Leipzig Fair will provide a good opportunity for the German Democratic Republic to prove that it wants reasonable growth rather than stagnation.

Peter Gillies

(Die Welt, 1 September 1971)

Continued from page 10

changing the political setup there. If people come to a different conclusion I consider it most likely that they have come off the rails. One should never overestimate what one is capable of achieving.

Frankfurter Rundschau: What way out would you suggest for development aid workers caught in a crisis of conscience?

Von Weizsäcker: As a member of the DED a volunteer cannot take part in violent activities. He must either quit the DED and remain in the country privately or he must remain with the DED and quit the country.

Frankfurter Rundschau: What do you say to the Opposition's charge that the DED has been infiltrated by leftists?

Von Weizsäcker: I deny it emphatically. I have read a number of statements to this effect, but all of them have been quite imprecise. But I am ready to talk to such critics at any time. However, they must have their evidence at the ready so that we can check it out. It is not sufficient to level verbal criticism. How can you deny a charge that has not been set down in writing?

Hans Lerchbacher

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 2 September 1971)

Managers must make do with bronze handshakes

It is not only in the Federal Republic that the salaries paid for the top managerial positions are largely unknown. This applies to the GDR as well, where there is scarcely any representative survey of the rewards for a top job in industry. Therefore there is a problem straight away in attempting to make a comparison of the two.

The comparison is made even more difficult by the different economic structures in East and West. In the GDR the policy with regard to industrial salaries has always been a part of the overall national economic planning and social welfare policy.

In addition to this the tax system in the German Democratic Republic is very different from that in this country.

In the early days of the development of the Socialist economy the difference in income between workers and top managers was quite small. The main advantage in being the brains behind a business in those days was an extra food parcel per month.

When the economic system developed there was an attempt to counteract the trend in the West especially where technically qualified business leaders were concerned and the perks for productivity were improved.

As a result of this a large section of the leaders of industry (all scientists and engineers, too) were given an attractive old age pension.

In addition to this a system of monthly, quarterly and yearly bonuses was worked out. These meant a quite considerable increase in the overall income in some of the leading industries. Since this coincided with the end of rationing it meant a real advantage, since the extra money could be spent more reasonably.

In the early fifties catalogues of income groups for the individual branches of industry and the economy were drawn up. Engineers and scientists were classed in a higher bracket than economists and lawyers. In practice today, however, economists, especially those with a good diploma, do not earn much less than their colleagues with scientific training.

The higher graded managerial workers are given individual contracts and individual salaries. Even ten years ago some of the real elite at the head of key industries were earnings fabulous salaries. For instance Professor Nelles, the former managing director of Bunawerke enjoyed a salary of 10,000 Marks.

There was even talk of unlimited "free" accounts for some managing directors and scientists. But the days of the fabulous pay are no more.

The income pyramid in the GDR shows that the differences between higher and lower paid workers is not so great as in the Federal Republic. A GDR managing director earns less than ten times as much as the boy who carries the messages in the firm. The gap between the top pay packets in the GDR and the average income is large, but not so great as in the Federal Republic. In 1970 the average was about 750 Marks, while a top manager could earn 3,000.

But the rewards for managers in the GDR are very slim when compared with those of their counterparts on this side of the border. Even those members of the staff who can look forward to a managerial position, that is to say those who have studied economics, law or technology, earn about 2,000 Marks a month, more than double the earnings of their colleagues of a similar age in the East.

The higher the position in the business hierarchy the greater the difference in the rewards between this country and the GDR. On average a man midway up the managerial scale in the Federal Republic earns about 45,000 Marks per year. A similar position in the GDR, however, would only be worth about 15,000 Marks annually.

When income tax and social security payments are taken into consideration the immediate swing is in favour of the GDR bosses. In their country the highest tax rate is twenty per cent, whereas it is fifty-one per cent in the Federal Republic. The highest contribution to social security in the GDR is sixty Marks per month. This is enough to guarantee extremely good treatment in the case of illness.

Some leading managers receive in addition an old-age pension at a relatively favourable rate from the State. This so-called intelligence pension is worked out on the basis of the salary at retirement. This in addition to the normal pension often amounts to more than three-quarters of income at retirement.

It is extremely difficult as well to compare the standard of living of the bosses in the two Germanies. Neither the official parity for the exchange of Ostmarks and Westmarks (1:1) nor the unofficial rate at West German banks (DM 1:3.5 Marks) is much help. The price structures in the two States are quite different and so currency parities, official or otherwise, are of little value.

The different tendencies, can, however, be shown by the comparison of various individual items. It is well known that basic needs can be satisifed relatively cheaply in the GDR. This applies to rents, electricity bills, transport, postage, basic foods, inland travel and most of the service industries.

Thanks to lower taxes and other payments the GDR bosses do, in fact, have a higher proportion of their income remaining for other needs. It must also be remembered that many GDR bosses also have working wives.

But despite this there remains little over from their earnings for real luxuries at the prices charged in the GDR and little spare for accumulation of capital. But in comparison with other workers in the GDR managerial classes have a much higher standard of living.

Frank Grätz

(Die Zeit, 3 September 1971)

■ TRADE

Video vistas dominate the 1971 Berlin radio show

This year's Berlin radio show, which began on 27 August, is more than a mere consumer gala. Now that the entertainment industry no longer exhibits at Hanover the Berlin show can truthfully be called a radio and TV trade fair. Buyers from all over the country flocked to Berlin to place orders for the new season. For the first time too the range of goods on exhibit is international. At long last manufacturers have overcome their fear of foreign competition and agreed to allow foreign and overseas firms to join in the fray. So this year's radio show can rightly claim to be something new, and as a fully-fledged international trade fair it will be an important touchstone of Berlin's pulling-power as a venue for events of this kind. For the first time since the war the exhibition grounds at the foot of West Berlin's radio tower are witnessing full-scale trade talks of a major industry. Neither previous radio shows nor the annual industrial exhibitions nor, for that matter, a number of smaller trade fairs held regularly since the Second World War have been as important as the 1971 Berlin radio show.

Developments in the audio-visual field can be compared with a three-stage rocket. The first stage, electronic video recording, was detonated some time ago. The second, video cassette recorders in colour, is at the countdown stage. There is still some time to go before the third stage, the video record in colour, is due to be activated.

To this extent the world premieres of audio-visual systems for educational and domestic use as celebrated at a number of stands at the Berlin radio show would seem to have been a little premature. They are more likely to be a practical proposition in the second half of the seventies.

"The audiovisual future," says Günther Hücking, director of the radio and TV section of the Electrical Engineering Manufacturers Association and the host at Berlin, "will be spectacular. The premieres hold forth the promise of a large market. But the performances are not yet in the repertory."

The future was heralded by super-8 film. Technically speaking the progress from a super-8 projector to electronic film reproduction on the TV screen is not a great step.

Ullstein and a number of smaller firms are already involved in production. Ullstein alone already have some 45,000 cassettes in stock. Their proud claim is that "Everyone is talking about cassettes. We have them."

The film in stock is either bought or specially produced and aimed at today's limited but closely defined market of doctors, travel agents and education authorities.

Being in at the start holds forth both prospects and risks for hard and software. The danger is that audio-visual systems developed in laboratories all over the world will outstrip one another and that neither recording nor reproduction equipment will come up to scratch with the exception of the technical perfection already achieved by super-8.

The luck of the draw is that the considerable sums of money being ploughed into research and development by the various manufacturers will make their mark on an emerging market and spell success for one system or the other.

This is why this year's Berlin radio show features video cassette systems that will one day dominate the market by providing material on record.

Reproduction equipment costs between 2,000 and 3,000 Marks and unplayed cassettes roughly 140 Marks. At this sort of price audio-visual equipment cannot be expected to sweep all before it but then none of the devices on exhibit will be on the market before next year or the year after.

Yet audio-visual equipment is unquestionably the shape of things to come. Interest has long since been shown by educational authorities and industrial concerns. They are no longer on their own.

Any number of private individuals asked for a demonstration of the various systems at the stands of Philips, Nordmende, Loewe-Opta, AEG-Telefunken and others. "I'll buy one of them when they are available" was the invariable reaction of the man in the street.

The squat video recorder is easy enough to operate. No TV adaptors are needed. Television programmes can be recorded and played back. Ready-made cassettes can be played back on the TV screen. The industry reckons with a potential market of half a million.

Colour video records, even though they will be some time in coming, will also be a money-spinner. They indeed will be the genuine mass-consumption article.

At between 600 Marks for black and white and 1,200 for colour the video record-players will be an expensive proposition but the records, in tough PVC, will be relatively inexpensive.

Recording will be inexpensive too, not differing too much from sound-recording. The expense will be copyright, stars' fees and production rights for, say, football games. They will be the main cost factor.

The video records will be flexible and in due time supplied as supplements to newspapers, magazines and educational courses. In runs of this kind they will cost next to nothing.



One of the innovations that stole the show at this year's Berlin radio and TV trade fair was the AEG-Telefunken colour video record developed jointly with Teldec. It was the first public showing of a mass-consumption article of the none too distant future. The four Berlin inventors of the latest video system, Dr Gerhard Dickopp, Horst Redlich, Joachi Klemp and Eduard Schüller, are here seen admiring their product during playback on to the TV screen. (Photo: AEG-Telefunken)

AEG-Telefunken make great play with their video-recording equipment at the radio show and there are plenty of visitors to stand and stare at video cassette recorders and super-8 films.

To all intents and purposes, though, this is mere sensationalism, like the Siemens lasers that paint bright colours on the ceiling to musical accompaniment and are gazed at by hundreds of people as though they were the eighth wonder of the world.

The only genuine intention, and a not unimportant one at that, can have been to make potential customers' mouths water.

This year's Berlin radio show is a foretaste of the future. The direct-dial car telephones on exhibit, for instance, will not be available until 1978. The post office is proud of this latest achievement but has only just started to develop network facilities.

In time for the Olympics, a magic deadline for the entire electronics industry, particularly the entertainment side, the post office hopes to have twelve transmitters for direct-dial car telephones in operation in the Munich area.

The first customers will then be able to derive some benefit from their expensive installations (costing roughly 10,000 Marks).

What is actually available at present is a little more limited in scope if not in perfection. Colour TV has now overcome initial teething trouble. Portable sets are available in every conceivable size and combination.

Transistorised cassette recorders and hifi have made their breakthrough on the market, which is more than can be said for quadrophony — there are too few programmes to make the prospects of quadrophony all that bright.

Japanese competition is particularly apparent in transistorisation and miniaturisation. The cut-price market for small TV sets has been virtually abandoned to Japanese manufacturers. Home producers cannot compete.

Domestic manufacturers are marketing technically more refined portables sets in larger sizes that promise to sell reasonably well.

Surprisingly enough Sony, the Japanese "forerunner of the audio-visual future," are not exhibiting video cassette recorders at Berlin. They have any number of waterproof and shockproof transistorised devices on display but have been pipped at the post as far as video is concerned.

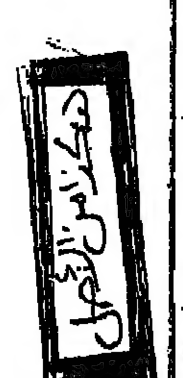
Starting this September Sony will probably commence manufacturing video recorders under licence from Philips.

As regards the show business side the broadcasting authorities continue to dominate the radio show with any number of live studios large and small. But they are gradually losing interest in the Barnum & Bailey.

Director-General Schröder of *Norddeutscher Rundfunk* and Channel 1 of the national TV network comments that show business ought in future to be left to the manufacturers of cassettes. "We ought to limit ourselves to what can be transmitted live from the exhibition."

Fritz Hufen
(Die Welt, 30 August 1971)

Siemens unveiled at the Berlin radio show a stage laser projecting colour patterns to music. These fascinating light effects are expected to lead to new developments in film and TV. The stage laser was premiered at last year's opera festival in Munich's Nationaltheater. Musical modulation is the latest development of this new device in stagecraft. (Photo: Siemens)



Holidaymakers looked on astonished as a remote-controlled miniature boat circled round Lake Constance. *Zisch 8 B* negotiated calm waters on glider fins similar to those of a hydrofoil and ploughed through heavier water like a submarine. Despite high speed it did not appear to be much put out by swell or current.

Zisch B is not a toy but a miniature version of what the inventor visualises as the private car of the ocean waves, an all-purpose vehicle unsinkable in the heaviest of weather.

The inventor is Dr Felix Wankel, the self-taught engineer whose rotary engine has made engineering history.

Wankel hopes his boat will be an equally epoch-making development. The scale models have already successfully been put through their paces and two full-size prototypes at present under construction in Switzerland will be ready to undergo trials next spring.

Wankel's boat is the result of development work dating back to a contract he undertook for the Reich Aviation Ministry several years before the War.

Not until 1962 was Felix Wankel able to resume work on the project at the technical research and development centre at Lindau on Lake Constance that he now heads.

The Zisch first reminds one of Flipper, the TV dolphin, and is hard to attribute to any particular sector of conventional shipbuilding. In conventional shipbuilding only specific types of vessel have managed to fulfil specific requirements.

Ocean-going vessels are expected to be large and weighty. Smaller, faster ships have generally been designed for coastal and inland traffic. Wankel proposes to combine the two.

In order to provide private transport on the high seas he needs a design that bears comparison with the motor-car in terms of size, price, speed and interior. *Zisch* is Wankel's solution: small, oceangoing, swift and inexpensive.

■ TRANSPORT

Felix Wankel of rotary-engine fame unveils his ocean-going motor car

The present scale model conveys some idea of what he has in mind. Zisch 69 B is powered by a normal screw and at rest or low speeds has its keel submerged. As soon as it develops speed the keel surfaces and the vessel skims the surface on its fins.

At speedboat tempo it can travel hundreds or thousands of kilometres in this fashion. Zisch cannot surmount large waves so the cabin is covered and it ploughs through the breakers in submarine fashion.

The entire design is modelled on the dolphin. "Like Man the dolphin is a mammal and needs fresh air to breathe. Yet even in heavy seas it gets the air it needs because its body is so streamlined that it can plough straight on whether above water, partially or totally submerged."

Felix Wankel's mechanical dolphin is claimed to have similar properties. The full-sized version will accommodate four to six passengers.

Wankel is not the man to encourage a hue and cry about his development work and his seagoing passenger vehicle has so far largely escaped public notice. Having once been blessed by success he is now in a position to carry on with his latest "utopian" project under his own steam. He is financing the project largely out of his own pocket.

He doubtless enjoys playing the part of a crotchety inventor. He feels himself to be a creative person and the element of play to be an integral part of his scientific work.

Wankel has also been keen on boats and engines since childhood. He and his associates are out to enjoy themselves in the process of research and development.

He is not interested in systematic development, in improving details as he terms it. Wankel prefers to work on wholly new ideas and creative talent is absolutely essential.

Computers and many scientists have lost this facility. "You can know too much," Felix Wankel comments.

The "crotchety" inventor of Lake Constance is self-confident and independent enough to uphold the freedom of his utopian developments. He is sad that there are so few inventors of his calibre left.

Explorers and inventors are no longer heroic figures. The concepts of research and invention have been continually debased over the years, Wankel feels.

"One of these days things will have come to such a pass that an auto mechanic on the lookout for an ignition fault will consider himself to be a researcher," he drily notes.

Detlef Boldt
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 5 September 1971)

Plain bad driving causes many car crashes

Bad driving is a more frequent cause of traffic accidents than is generally assumed, the Bavarian branch of the TÜV, the independent agency responsible for conducting compulsory two-year roadworthiness tests on motor vehicles, maintains.

This conclusion is reached on the basis of a survey of 1,025 motorists conducted by doctors, psychologists and driving instructors. 367 of the sample proved to be either bad drivers or in poor health.

A check was made to determine how many of this group have prior offences on record at the Motor Vehicle Registration Office in Flensburg, where the central archives of licence endorsements are located.

Ninety-nine motorists were found to have poor eyesight. Seventeen of them had previous traffic convictions on record. Twenty per cent of the 161 motorists who proved to be either bad drivers or unaware of important provisions of the highway code were also booked as previous offenders.

Of the 58 motorists who combined both poor eyesight with other physical or mental shortcomings 73 per cent were on record in Flensburg as having previous offences to be taken into consideration when they next come before the courts.

Only three per cent of the 658 motorists who were found to have no notable shortcomings had endorsements registered in Flensburg.

Last year 1,776,049 people in this country applied for a driving licence. 101,235, or 5.7 per cent of them, failed the sight test. In 888 cases the optician's report was so bad that it was felt they would never be able to pass the driving test. (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 5 August 1971)

■ HOLIDAYS

Allgäu mountains have more to offer than romantic castles and scenery

Ask any American planning a tour of Europe what he is most looking forward to and he is almost bound to say Neuschwanstein Castle, Bavaria. Foreign visitors generally think in terms of a romantic, medieval past in the East of the Allgäu region of Southern Germany where the Romantische Strasse tourist route ends.

What other explanation is there for the unquestionable fact that Neuschwanstein, King Ludwig II of Bavaria's nineteenth-century vision of a new Wartburg (the medieval castle in the Harz mountains where troubadours and knights of chivalry really met), is visited by 500,000 tourists a year?

Smile one may at the pseudo-Romanticism of King Ludwig, the patron and admirer of Richard Wagner, but there can be no denying that his costly castles are now money-spinners.

You may not be too keen on Wagner and the mystique of the Holy Grail but you still should not miss the castle concerts held from 14 to 19 September in the Wartburg Hall at Neuschwanstein.

The music played is well worth listening to. There are the Bamberg Symphony Orchestra, the Munich Nonett and the Lasalle Quartet and an assortment of well-known soloists.

The Allgäu may owe much of its tourist reputation to the regal dreamer who invested inordinate sums of money in the two castles of Hohenschwangau and Neuschwanstein but even without them it is an attrative part of the world.

The area between Trauchgau to the East and Nesselwang and Wertach in the West is one of the best-known and most popular holiday areas in the South. Not for nothing are the approachs to the Alps called a natural work of art.

"All we lack is the sea," one spa publicity manager comments, adding that "of course the many lakes between rolling hills with the gigantic mountain range between Zugspitze and Nebelhorn in the distance do make the area attractive, though."

Right he is and there is no shortage of water in the Allgäu. Forggensee is five miles long and visitors can indulge in all kinds of water sport until well on into the autumn, and when it is too cold outdoors there are any number of indoor baths to choose from.

Water-lovers who would like to do something for their health could do worse than visit Forggensee for a Kneipp course or, for that matter, go in for the full spa treatment at Hopfen and its newly-built spa centre nearby.

East Allgäu has some 190 hotels and 98 *pensions* at the ready to welcome visitors. And there are any number of private guesthouses. Holidays on the farm are also growing in popularity.

More than 1,700,000 bednights last year prove that holidays in the East Allgäu have gained a reputation for themselves. "We have so much to offer," one burgomaster says, "that we can satisfy the holiday needs of visitors of all ages and interests."

The Allgäu, in common with other areas, is benefiting from the trend to take two holidays in the course of the year and an increasing number of visitors are coming for short spells in the autumn to see for themselves whether this is where they would like to spend their winter holidays.

It is a moot question whether the autumn or the winter is better in the Allgäu. Prospective holidaymakers who would like to see for themselves should write for brochures to *Arbeitsgemeinschaft zur Förderung des Fremdenverkehrs Ostallgäu* at Landratsamt Füssen.

Visitors travelling by car from the East will see for themselves the beauty of the Allgäu foothills as they drive along the Deutsche Alpenstrasse route. In the distance they will see the town of Füssen, surrounded by glorious mountain scenery itself but towering over the river Lech.

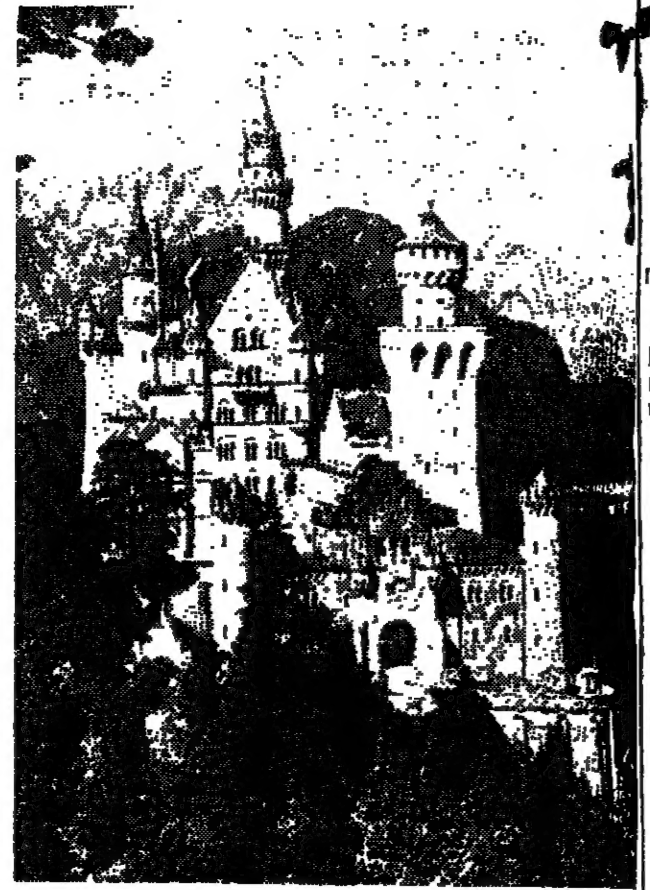
Bad Faulenbach, a mineral and mud spa on the way, is reputed to be good for rheumatism and gynaecological troubles. Here too advocates of Father Kneipp and his watering-can treatment will find all they need. What is more, they can take the Tegelbergbahn and survey the entire region from a height of 1,720 metres (5,650 feet).

Then there is Pfronten, a village neatly divided into thirteen sections. The Breitenberg mountain railway takes the holidaymaker to an elevation of 1,500 metres (4,900 feet). A chair lift then goes up to a height of 1,720 metres.

Climbers can negotiate the 1,987-metre (6,520-ft) Aggenstein. From the summit they can see Tannheimer Tal in Austria and make out the deep turquoise of Vilsalpsee lake.

Or they can climb unaided (and without much difficulty) to the top of Falkenstein (1,268 metres or 4,165 feet) and take a look at the highest ruined castle in Germany. The falconers will show them every bird of prey still found wild in Europe.

The road from Pfronten to Hindelang passes through Austrian territory but is only negotiable in summer. Otherwise you have to make a detour via Wertach, or will have to do so until the missing section of the Deutsche Alpenstrasse between Unterjoch and Oberjoch is completed.



Neuschwanstein Castle, Bavaria
(Photo: Archiv)

Hindelang, spa, Kneipp centre and sulphurous mud treatment centre, is another jewel of the Allgäu region. The village itself is at an altitude of 850 metres (2,790 feet) and the mountain railway takes visitors up to the 1,420-metre (4,640-ft) Hornalp.

From Oberjoch, which is reached via an easily negotiable but seemingly endless succession of hairpin bends, the visitor has a gorgeous view of the valley.

People who like mountain air can choose holiday hotels at altitudes of up to 1,150 metres (3,780 feet). Down in Hindelang there are further spa and Kneipp centres, a Kurpark and heated indoor baths.

Back on the Alpenstrasse the road forks southwards and up the Illertal valley towards Oberstdorf. Unless, of course, you would like to stay a while in Sonthofen, which is well worth it with its sports centre and variety of spa treatments.

Oberstdorf, which is not for nothing a bednight millionaire, needs little further recommendation. It has peace and quiet to offer for older people and plenty of entertainment for youngsters.

Anyone can take the Nebelhornbahn suspension railway up to a height of 2,215 metres (7,325 feet) and the Söllereck chair lift crosses over to Kleinwalsertal (1,400 metres or 4,600 feet).

From here the Kanzelwandbahn at Riezlern and the Walmendingerhornbahn in Mittelberg wend their way up to altitudes of 2,000 metres (6,500 feet) and upwards.

Heuberg chair lift in Hirschegg and Zaferna chair lift in Mittelberg are further mountain railways available to take visitors up to elevations of 1,400 metres (4,600 feet).

On the road from Sonthofen to Oberstdorf there is Fischen, a small spa six kilometres before Oberstdorf, and the nearby Hörnerbahn in Bolsterlang ready to take visitors up to 1,420 metres (4,660 feet) and the Horngratlift, which is used as a chair lift in the summer and takes holidaymakers up to an elevation of 1,550 metres (5,100 feet).

The Western fork of the Alpenstrasse passes through Immenstadt, with its mountain railway to Mittag, 1,450 metres, Bühl on the Alpsee and its double chair lift going up to 1,350 metres (4,430 feet) and the well-known Allgäu resorts of Oberstaufen, Steibis, Weiler, Lindenberg and Scheidegg and down to Lindau on Lake Constance.

Deutsche Bundesbahn, the German Federal Railways, also serve the Allgäu region well. Oberstaufen and Immenstadt are on the main line between Lindau and Munich. Sonthofen and Oberstdorf and Nesselwang, Pfronten and Füssen are on the main north-south lines from Augsburg and Ulm.

Jutta Rudershausen

(Deutsche Zeitung, 27 August 1971)

Bad Dürkheim's Wurstmarkt where wine-lovers wade in for a week

Bad Dürkheim in the Rhineland-Palatinate boasts both seven million vines and the largest vat in the world (it is two storeys high).

This year the vats are full to overflowing. 1970 was a record vintage as far as quantity is concerned and something must be done to make way for the 1971 vintage as the harvest season draws nigh.

For over 550 years the people of Bad Dürkheim have known how best to clear their vaults. This year's Dürkheim Wurstmarkt (or sausage market) is to be held from 11 to 14 and 17 to 20 September. It is the largest wine festival in the world.

Anyone planning to visit Bad Dürkheim over the second weekend in September must have a full weekend at his disposal, stamina and a set of clothes that can withstand a few fat stains.

Thirst is generated by a hundred tons of meat made into sausages, shish kebabs and pork haunches. During the week's festivities the meat is consumed down to the last slice, and with it 60,000 barbecue chickens.

Wine is a drink that makes you cheerful and ready to let bygones be bygones. This is why the Bad Dürkheim Wurstmarkt is a family festival and what makes it different from, say, the Munich Oktoberfest.

No one is going to object to a jug of ale but the local police force reckon their Wurstmarkt, with the gigantic vat, three monster marquees and three dozen

Continued on page 15

The largest wine vat in the world, one of the sights of Bad Dürkheim
(Photo: Städt. Verkehrsamt Bad Dürkheim)

■ SPORT

Power-assisted gliders gain ascendancy in the air

The Travels of Count Zambeccari was a much-read children's book in the 1880s. In it a stork explains to a wren he is taken on as a hitch-hiker, so to speak, the secret of gliding without moving your wings.

This story so intrigued schoolboy Otto von Lilienthal and his brother that they decided to keep an eye on storks and watch how they flew.

Otto von Lilienthal's lifelong ambition was to construct a powered aeroplane. When he crashed and died in the Rhinow hills, not far from Berlin, in 1896 he had not yet achieved this ambition but he had perfected a glider that lacked nothing but a few minor improvements to the steering.

Lilienthal's ideas were overtaken by the publicity given to motor-powered aviation and virtually consigned to oblivion until Frankfurt civil engineer Oskar Ursinus noticed buzzards gliding in the Rhön region, an isolated plateau in Franconia. Without appearing to move their wings at all the buzzards climbed to ever greater heights.

In 1920 Ursinus launched the first Rhön competition and it was an immediate success. Germany was prohibited by the terms of the Versailles Treaty from developing motor aeroplanes but not from developing the art of gliding. The men who drafted the Treaty of Versailles had never heard of gliders.

Gliding has gone from strength in this country ever since. Some 23,000 people are affiliated to the gliding section of the Federal Republic Aero Club and pay club subscriptions of between six and twenty Marks a month to sail noiselessly through the heavens, outwitting the force of gravity and viewing the panorama of the world below.

There are about 3,400 gliders in this country. Six hundred are privately owned, the remainder belong to the various aero clubs. They have at their disposal a fair-sized chunk of the country's increasingly crowded airspace.

There are a number of reasons why there seems to be less and less airspace available. There are more and more private powered aircraft (about three thousand at the moment) and safety regulations are continually being stiffened.

The main inroads into airspace are made, however, by bans imposed in the vicinity of civil airports and military airfields. More and more country is being declared out of bounds for glider pilots.

The hardest part of gliding is preparing for take-off and heading back to home base once the glider has landed, though. The pioneering days are over and it is only when veterans get together that they reminisce about the days when it took a couple of dozen men to get the club glider airborne.

In those days paper, wood and wire was the stuff dreams are made of and many a hopeful glider pilot had to wait for days before take-off because there was no wind when his turn came round.

Yet even now it takes four or five men to get gliders airborne at most clubs. One man must operate the winch, one must man the intercom, one must be at the aircraft and at least another must keep the wings horizontal.

At least the same number are needed when the glider is taken into tow and "if only for courtesy's sake you have to be there either to prepare the glider or to dismantle it," an enthusiatic glider man adds rather less than enthusiastically.

"Young people in particular are no longer so keen on the preliminaries," Walther Cartaus, glider secretary of the Federal Republic Aero Club in Frankfurt, says.

This is why he foresees a great future for a craft that has existed for many a long year but has only become a really viable proposition this year – the power-assisted glider.

Gliding veterans will have no truck with the power-assisted glider. "It tolls the death knell of the adventure of the weather and the clouds, the element of risk that makes gliding so thrilling," one glider pilot who takes his annual holidays regularly in the Rhön region noted.

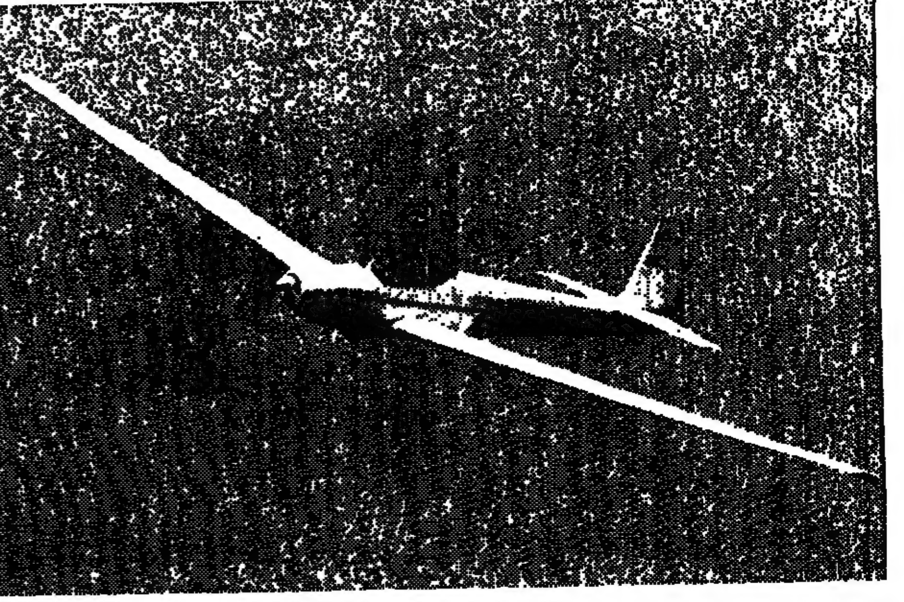
He may be right but there can be no denying that power assistance makes gliding simpler and more rational.

In good weather the pilot of a power-assisted glider can take off under his own steam without further assistance. He can fly and stay aloft in conditions that are too poor for conventional gliders.

Because take-off procedure is far less tiresome gliding with power assistance is a feasible proposition after work during the week.

What is more, the charge per hour of power-assisted flight (thirty Marks or so) makes it possible for the glider to pay for itself faster.

The international aviation federation has now gone so far as to make power-assisted flight respectable by introducing a power-assisted category alongside the standard and open categories. Power-assisted gliding can now lay official claim to be a sporting pursuit.



Synthetic materials and tubular steel have replaced plywood and wire as the basis of high-performance gliders
(Photo: Schleicher)

Evaluation of flights is, of course, rendered more complicated by the fact that power-assisted flight time must be substracted from the total. So the pilot must do his best to manage without the engine as far as possible. Ideally he should use it merely to gain initial height.

Artful pilots have discovered, however, that they can gain altitude very fast and with next to no resort to the engine, at least as far as the time factor is concerned, once they have found a thermal.

At all events the length of time the engine is run is recorded by a device attached to the barograph.

A number of aircraft manufacturers have started development work on power-assisted gliders and the engines to go with them. Scheibe of Dachau, for instance, have had to have their two-seater Falke manufactured under licence in this country and abroad because the firm's town-centre works cannot be enlarged.

Two hundred Falcons (for that is what the German name means) have already been built. At present the Falke costs 35,000 Marks.

In conjunction with Schempp-Hirth, the manufacturers of a total so far of 110 Cirrus high-performance gliders (costing 26,000 Marks with a waiting-list of seven to eight months), work is in progress on a further improvement in power-assisted gliding.

A tubular steel fuselage with a retractible engine is to be fitted with Cirrus wings with an eighteen-metre span.

Schleicher of Poppenhausen have sold sixty ASK 14 one-seater power-assisted gliders costing 28,700 Marks. This summer the ASK 16, a two-seater version, has undergone flight tests and is due to go into production at the end of the year. Schleicher have great hopes of this, their latest model.

The ASK 16 will cost approximately 40,900 Marks, Schleicher, employing 150 men, are to build an initial four a month. Forty-eight orders have already been placed.

These are but a handful of examples of the boom in power-assisted gliders. The two-seaters are ideal trainers, the single-seaters ideal practice aircraft even for pilots who intend to progress to the "real thing" – unaided flight.

In the long run a glider's licence is going to prove a less expensive business. At present some 1,500 learners take licences every year.

The boom in power-assisted gliders does not by any manner of means coincide with a decline in interest in conventional gliders. In recent years a revolution in the materials used has boosted interest to an enormous extent.

Synthetics have made many an airstrip toolkit so much old iron. The Ka 6, a standard conventional wooden-frame glider for many years, was very much an also-ran at the national gliding championships in Bückeburg last May.

The sole Ka 6 entered for the championships came in forty-second and last.

The championship winner was 29-year-old Esslingen biology teacher Helmut Reichmann flying an LS 1 high-performance synthetic model. He flew the same model to win the world championship last year in Marfa, Texas.

The LS 1 has a fifteen-metre wingspan and a top speed of 220 kilometres an hour (137 mph). It currently costs 22,200 Marks. The manufacturers, Schneider of Egelsbach, are running two to three a month off the assembly lines.

Since Reichmann won the world championships in Texas Schneider have been overwhelmed with orders. It will take them ten years to manufacture the 350 LS 1s on the order books.

Günter Schlichting

(Welt am Sonntag, 22 August 1971)

Continued from page 14

vintner's tents, is just about the most boring duty in the year.

The only diversions are the recumbent bodies found asleep on the pavement at three in the morning. Because they make easy meat for passing motorists the police ease them into the nearest doorway and let them sleep it off until eight in the morning when they head off to the nearest wine cellar to clear their heads anyway.

The stands at which snacks are sold are called Schubkarchstände, a word that indicates their origin. In days gone by the vintners used to wheel their vats to market in wheelbarrows, upturn the wheelbarrows and sell their wares.

In the background the fairground glitters and the brass band plays local music.

The first recorded mention of the Wurstmarkt is in 1417, when Dürkheim vintners sold sausage and wine to pilgrims at Michaelmas. Thirty years later the Wurstmarkt had gained such popularity that it moved to its present site.

Last year 220,000 litres of wine were drunk by half a million visitors.

A commission is busy tasting last year's vintage and selecting the vats that vintners are to sell at the Wurstmarkt. The commission also decides the price to be charged for a glass of wine.

Anyone who succeeds in drinking his way through the three dozen vintners' four different qualities of wine and the fifteen Wurstmarkt wines on sale in the large marquees during the week's festivities will have sampled every quality of wine from vin ordinaire to the very best.

Helmut Weller

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 1 September 1971)

Aden	SA $ 0.05	Colombia	col. $ 1.—	Formosa	NT $ 5.—	Indonesia	Rp. 15.—	Malawi	11 d	Paraguay	G. 15.—	Sudan	PT 5.—
Afghanistan	Af 10.—	Congo (Brazzaville)	F.C.F.A. 30.—	France	FF 0.60	Iran	Rl 10.—	Malaysia	M. $ 0.40	Peru	S. 3.50	Syria	£ S 0.50
Algeria	DA 0.60	Congo (Kinshasa)	Makuta 7.—	Gabon	F.C.F.A. 30.—	Iraq	50 fils	Mali	FM 60.—	Philippines	P. phil 0.60	Tanzania	EAs 0.25
Angola	Esc. 1.—	Costa Rica	C 0.85	Gambia	11 d	Ireland	11 d	Mexico	$ 1.50	Poland	Zl. 0.50	Thailand	B 3.—
Argentina	$ m n 45.—	Cuba	P 0.13	Germany	DM 1.—	Israel	I £ 0.40	Morocco	DM —.65	Portugal	Esc. 1.—	Trinidad and Tobago	BWI $ 0.20
Australia	10 c.	Cyprus	11 d	Ghana	cedi 0.12	Italy	Lir. 80	Mozambique	Esc. 1.—	Rhodesia	11 d	Togo	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Austria	S 3.—	Czechoslovakia	Kcs 0.50	Great Britain	5 p	Ivory Coast	F.C.F.A. 30.—	Nepal	Mohur 1.—	Ruanda	F. Rw 12.—	Turkey	T £ 1.25
Belgium	bfr 6.—	Dahomey	F.C.F.A. 30.—	Greece	Dr 4.—	Jamaica	11 d	Netherlands	Hfl 0.50	Rumania	Leu 0.50	Tunisia	65 M
Bolivia	$ b 1.50	Denmark	dkr 0.90	Guatemala	Q 0.15	Japan	Yen 50	Netherlands Antilles	G. ant 0.25	Saudi Arabia	RL 0.60	Uganda	EAs 0.25
Brazil	N. Cr. $ 0.35	Dom. Rep.	RD $ 0.15	Guayana	BWI $ 0.20	Jordan	50 fils	New Zealand	9 c.	Sweden	skr 0.60	UAR	PT 5.—
Bulgaria	Lev 0.05	Ecuador	S 2.50	Guinea	F.G. 30.—	Kenya	EAs 0.25	Nicaragua	C 0.85	Switzerland	FS 0.50	Uruguay	P 20.—
Burma	K 0.60	El Salvador	C 0.30	Haiti	G 0.65	Kuwait	50 fils	Niger	F.C.F.A. 30.—	Senegal	F.C.F.A. 30.—	USA	$ 0.20
Burundi	F. Bu. 10.—	Ethiopia	Eth. $ 0.30	Honduras (Br.)	$ BH 0.20	Laos	Kip 60.—	Nigeria	11 d	Sierra Leone	Le 0.10	USSR	Rbl. 0.10
Cambodia	R 4.40	Fiji	11 d	Honduras	L 0.25	Lebanon	P 40.—	Norway	nkr 0.90	Somalia	Sh So 0.90	Venezuela	B 0.60
Cameroun	F.C.F.A 30.—	Finland	fmk 0.50	Hong Kong	HK $ 0.70	Liberia	Lib $ 0.15	Pakistan	Rs 0.60	South Africa	Rand 0.10	Yugoslavia	Din. 1.—
Canada	Can. $ —.20			Hungary	Ft 1.—	Libya	50 Mills	Panama	B. 0.15	South Korea	Won 35.—	Zambia	11 d
Ceylon	cR —.60			Iceland	Kr 5.—	Luxembourg	lfr 6			S. Viet Nam	V.N. $ 15.—		
Chile	Esc. 0.60			India	Rs 0.80	Madagascar	FM 30.—			Spain	Pts 8.—		